Politicall Reflections
UPON
THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE
TVRKS.

NICOLAS MACHIAVEL:
The King of *SWEDEN'S* Descent into *GERMANY:*
The Conspiracy of *PISO* and *VINDEX* against *NERO:*
The Greatnesse and Corruption of the COURT of *ROME:*
The Election of Pope *LEO* the XI:
The Defection from the CHURCH of *ROME:*
MARTIN LUTHER.

By the Author of the late *Advice to a Son.*

LONDON.

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OXFORD

To the
READER.

SInce our blessed Saviour drawes a Precedent for Prudence, from the unjust deportment of a wicked Steward; and recommends to his followers the Subtilty of Serpents, with a no lesse Emphasis than the Innocency of Doves; I trust (in this Juncture when the Presse groans to be delivered of the burden she sustaines from their more seditious and prophane Off-spring, who desire to foment War; and Christian Magistrates reckon their Subjects Disobedience in the heavieſt Item, they account for with God, in their solemn Humiliations;) I shall not be the worse esteemed by men judicious and moderate, for taking some choice Observa-

tions *out of the Turkish* Arcana, *which garbelled & weighed according to the true balance of the* Sanctuary, *may not impossibly minde those at the Helm of* Expedients *more proper for* Unity, *than have yet been employed among* Christians: *where though* Christ *be owned under the greatest demonstration of* Selfe-deniall, *yet* Uncharitablenesse *abounds, and lesse awfull* Obedience *is given to Gods Vicegerents, in Christian Common-wealths, than the Apostle* Paul *did award to infidells. Nor doth the* Church, *set in the Firmament of Regality for the Luminary and direction of all Subjection due to our heavenly and earthly Guides, keep to her proper Sphere, if, from a Medium betwixt us and our Maker, she becomes a stickler in things purely belonging to the Magistrate, our Obedience, like that of the Catholicks, must still stagger betwixt two Supremes; It being impossible for the best or*

worst

worſt of Governours to be longer in quiet, than ſhe is pleaſed to permit them: And this apprehended by ſome (better fitted and reſolved for the diſcovery of Errors, than able or willing to mend them) they conclude, all the miſchiefs ariſing through the loud Fulminations, the ſpirit of Contention hath, or may have, darted out of the Pulpit, flow from the Riches and Splendour of the Clergie, that upon a more ſerious account may be laid to the abuſe and ill-admiration of their Office and Power, which duly regulated, is the wholſomeſt Flower in the Crown of Government: it out-reaching the kenn of example to find a State happy, where the Prieſthood *is expoſed to the Peoples* contempt, *or Religion ſuffered to be weighed at the common Beam: which muſt needs happen, where their* Maintenance *is ſcandalous, and their* Perſons *deſpicable, or not vigorouſly protected by the hand of*

Authority;

Authority, to whom they doe, or at least might, bring Obedience, without putting it to the trouble of reward or punishment. Nor would the Laity *so much grumble at the payment of* Tithes, *were they wise enough to weigh the great advantage they have through the* Churches *dependance on their welfare, which would be quite lost, did their* maintenance *drop out of the immediate hand of the* Prince, *as it doth among the* Turks; *who are too well read in Policy, to break or dismember so usefull an Engine, because it may or might, for want of Circumspection, have bruised the fingers of those it ought to preserve. But if this points at any prejudice in Church or State, I am resolved to remaine no obstinate Heretick, but to cast it at the feet of the same Authority, Providence hath set me under, and for whose sake I first took it up. And this I hope will satisfie the* wise Reader, *but for*

Criticall

Criticall Fooles, *the ordinary ſort of Book-wormes, who, like Iron moles, diſcolour the ſenſe and obliterate the naturall meaning of Authors, by their ſpurious and tart Cenſures; eſteeming nothing fit to paſſe current, that hath not deſcended from their Anceſtors, whoſe fouleſt blots they paint over with fairer Gleſſes, than they can finde colour for in the generall Ignorance (ſome few Pens excepted) that did then bleer the underſtandings of Subjects, extending in the meantime the no leſſe innocent, if not more uſefull moderne endeavours upon the cruell rack of a ſevere Scrutiny, till ſome pretext is found for to ground detraction upon: This, I ſay, cannot diſcourage me from proſecuting what Conſcience informes me may advance* Settlement, *who have long been taught, that the way lies to the Paradiſe of* Peace, *through the Purgatory of* Cenſure, *which all muſt expect to find their*

Sailes fill'd with, that steere contrary to the current of Antiquity, *imagined, onely by idle Dunces, to have pinn'd the Basket: For since this age hath the use of their Plat-formes, and the same Tooles, it lies not in my Cup to apprehend, why it may not operate as well and wisely. To conclude, such as have, or doe hereafter modestly prosecute a farther revelation of Knowledge, ought not to be discouraged, or unwillingly employ their Talents, as many doe that come betrayed to the Presse, or led more by Friends Importunity, than their owne Genius: For though their Contemporaries serve them as the* Jewes *did the* Prophets, *yet when Death hath laid them out of the reach of Envy and personall Contempt, Posterity shall not only commiserate the Cruelty of that neglect they lay under in their life-time, but build Monuments to their Immortall Fame.*

The

THE TURKISH POLICY: OR, OBSERVATIONS UPON THE Government of the TURKS.

NOt to ascend the highest step of the *Turkish Pedegree*, (whose primitive *Actions*, no lesse then those of the *Goths*, lye buried in the rubbish, their huge *Vastation* have formerly made through the *Easterne Empire*, and since in that of the *West*, upon the score of whose eternall reproach, they keep their Royall Port in the Emperiall City:) I shall only observe the prudent *Deportment of Mahumet* (owned by all for their *Founder*) without taking more notice of his, or their extraction, then what may serve to illustrate the following Di-

course, projected rather to delineate the wise *Track* he hath chalked out to his successors, and what exact followers they have been of it (which few have done) then the Deeds themselves, usually found scored at the end of every street. Though, I believe, with great Partiality, and many Omissions, in relation to the Shame and Terror they have brought upon *Christendome* (through the division of whose Princes they have attained this grandure) the Fate of their Atchievements, who want *Pens* of their owne to register their *Stories*; In which this *Emperour*, no lesse then his successors, have been still defective: Yet he that considers what hath followed, cannot take it for an hyperbole, to say, the main *difference* between *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, and *Mahumet* consists in a *Feather*, or the *Quill* of a *Goose*.

2. He had the happinesse to set up under a most auspicious *juncture*; the greatest Politicians then extant, being more employed in moulding an *Ecclesiasticall Monarchy*, and mending the *Rents*, the *Schismaticks* of those times had made in the *Church*, then in improving any temporall

porall Power, or raising banks, that might stop such an inundation, as so great a Snow-ball was likely to cause upon the face of that Earth, where ever it came to refund.

3. *His Followers* were owners of no vaster *Understandings*, then might render them pliable to *Labour* and *Discipline*: Who being of a brutish and wilde employment, did not onely undergoe the *hardship of Warre*, but were ready to yeild all awfull Obedience to such marks of *Worship*, or religious Observations, as he was pleased to impresse upon their yet unsuborned imaginations: Not so easily obtained from *acuter heads*, who are apt to pretend a sufficiency in determining the truth or falshood of that, Authority hath allotted for an unquestioned Creed: The more to be avoided by all *new Legislators*, because known so pernicious to establisht Common-wealths and Monarchies, as the *promoters of Sedition*, are seldome found to take horse at any other block, then what they perceive the People apteſt to stumble at, in relation to *Gods Worship*. No *Colony* having been observed for to dilate it selfe, that held not at least

least so long constant to *one Profession in Religion*, till Time and Successe had estated them in a power able to resist any Enemy; by nothing easier brought about, then a confident *Report of some Miracle*, which once riveted into the Opinion of the People; by Custome and Education, cannot after be removed, without the hazard of all. This made him professe a daily *Commerce with Angels*, and pretend, the terrible *Fits* incident to his *Disease*, as *holy extasies*, in which God did mind him of the way and meanes, how to lead his People. And according to this Patterne, a *Law* was founded, so suitable to the highest Taste of humane Sensuality, and obvious to a carnall apprehension, that it was swallowed by this Rabble for the undoubted and pure *Will of God*, and he looked upon for his most holy *Prophet*. To the advancement of which *Beliefe* their *Ignorance* did mainly contribute, found by experience, the strongest assertor of what she confidently believes, though in it selfe never so improbable. And after some farther commerce had throughly estated their Consciences in this perswasion, they grew zealous, that is, affectionate,

and

and desirous to propagate where ever they came, such opinions as their *Governors* had contracted them to, out of no higher sanctity at first, then to keep them entire and chast in their worldly obedience.

4. Neither were the Proselites of this *new Prophet* checked, in the earnestnesse of their pursuit after *Empire*, by the confluence of *contrary Accidents*, and the number of *rubbs* the unsteady hand of so contingent a Warre, could not choose but cast daily in their way; but the more enflamed, as taking them rather for incitements to further cruelties towards others, then any stop to the unjust encroachments they made upon the Principalities of their Neighbours; looked upon by them as Enemies to God, and so, like the *Canaanites*, fit only to be eradicated, for the better ease and advantage of themselves. Or if any *crosse event* was apprehended relating to them, they put it off as if it onely concerned their *Remisnesse* in the intended *Worke of the Lord*, which was to spoile others, and enrich themselves. This abates the wonder of their Victories, who have

have the Art to draw encouragement from the best or worst of successes: For through the clashing of these *contrary events*, *Mahumet* kindled such a blinde zeale amongst their over-heated Ignorance, as it consumed all before them, without the least consideration had of things Sacred or Prophane.

5. And to preserve this childe of his Ambition, from being stifled in the swadling cloaths, through an overlaying of Neighbours (who were called in prudence to the crushing of such designes, had they not been rendred deafe by the janglings between the *Greek* & *Latine* Churches) *he gathers the chiefest ingredients of his Institutes out of the Gardens, both of the Jewish and Christian Religion*: Leaving his Sectarists in grosse, to their more loose and acceptable primitive *Heathenisme*; inserting few Novelties, but what respected his owne person, which he doth not stile a God, though he arrogates to himselfe a Supremacy over all his Prophets.

6. Yet did he not only forbid the use of *Images*, as may be thought, in imitation of *Moses* (who by that bred such a hatred

tred in the *Jewes* against all Nations, as hath kept a considerable part of them from mingling to this day) but out of as deep a Reason of State, in relation to continuance: Since it is impossible, if a Nation once attaines an universall prudence, but that the deceitfull *knack* of such a carnall adoration must needs grow loathsome, or lye obvious to their Reproofe, that shall make it their full employment to finde faults; and after an opportunity is easily gained, to foment a change, by discovering to the people *absurdities* in their *Worship*; which is better prevented in one directed, as his is, to the onely invisible and omnipotent *Creator*, whose Nature and Power is so far remote from the weake apprehensions of men, as the sharpest reason is not able to batter a Faith built solely upon it.

7. And by this prudent election, he hath so far prevailed against the corruption of *Innovation* (a Rust all other Professions have contracted in lesse time) as no considerable *Schisme* hath yet broke out amongst them: For that between the *Turke* and *Persian*, lies rather in the *Genealogie of their Prophet*, then the body of

of the Beliefe he first founded. At such time, lest Novelty and want of Proofe should detect him too apparently, he takes *Abraham* into his Party, whom he ownes for the Father of himselfe and his Followers; giving a no lesse honourable Character of *Christ* and his Mother, to please the *Christians*, then of *Moses* to amuse the *Jewes*; yet hath no milder designe, then the destructiō of them both: And by this universall *complyance*, he rendered his detestable *Errors* more glib to the wide swallow of that *Ignorance*, the world did then gape withall. The cause his Doctrine was embraced by as unquestion'd a beliefe, as that of the *Jew* or *Christian*, whom they looke upon as owners of more improbable Opinions, then theirs, and lesse tending to the honour of that universall Goodnesse, which respects the profit and well-being of his Creatures.

8. In relation to whom the *Turks Sabbath*, no lesse then the *Jewes*, was without doubt instituted, to give a comfortable relaxation to the poore *Beast*, as well as *Slaves*, whom *Moses* observed to lead a life in *Ægypt* worse then death it

selfe;

selfe. Therefore he derives the Institution of the *Sabbath*, from the mouth of God, to be of no lesse antiquity then the Creation. And on this day men were suffered to doe no labour, but to keep a *holy rest unto the Lord*: by which a *Terror* was strook into the contemners of the *Law*, and a great *Love* and mutuall *Confidence* infused among *Neighbours*, no small promoters of Conquest, such standing closest in time of danger as are of neerest relations in Religion and Friendship. Besides, these *weekly meetings*, doe much civilize a Nation, satisfying no lesse the mindes of the *zealous* then they moderate the Passions of the *Factious* and *Disobedient*, by the great allay received from the solemne *Devotion* observable in their *Priests*, who use such humble prostrations, and catching *Ceremonies*, in the exercise of their *Divine Rights* (which yet admit of no scandall, because prosecuted in suit of no *Representation*, but to the imploring of the onely omnipotent God, in whose service all things are to be employed) as such are terrified into an *Obedience* of the *Law*, out of a future *Feare*, that could not else be restrained

strained by a present secular danger, or after-hope, Imagining a number of possibilities to hide that from *Men*, which nothing is able to cover from the sight of *God*.

9. Of such vast concernment is a grave and prudent *Clergy* to well-being, though of late much slighted among some sort of Christians, not so wise as to observe that *the Eye* for the most part, *is caught before the heart*; and that *Austerity* and *Reverence* in externall Worship (if devested of all advantages else) cannot be denied to have a huge operation upon *Obedience* to the *civill Magistrate*. It being unlikely, that such as take *Decency in Divine Worship* for Idolatry, should not soon be worne out of *Reverence* to their Governours, since the most destructive *Parity* begins alwaies in the *Church*.

10. No *Law* is more intent upon the *Honour* and *Profit of Monarchy*, then the *Turks*: For though a *Munke* had a finger in the Pie, yet *Mahumet* was so skilfull as to season it to his owne palate. Neither were many *Christian Princes* lesse *absolute* at first, then he, till their Subjects by Money, Importunity, or Armes

Armes had moderated their power, which we doe not finde this Nation ever went about: *Servitude*, by use, becoming a second nature: But, had their Ordinances, like ours, been voted by such a Composition of Estates, wherein the Priestood had made the principall Ingredient, for Wisdome, if not Authority, it is very possible they might have more related to Religion, which, like the *Indian Figtree*, is of so vast an extent, as it hath been able, not onely to harbour an Host of *Church men*, but their Bag and Baggage, together with all the plunder they are able to make, by breaking the Hearts, and ransacking the more tender Consciences of *Dying men*; as is apparent in *Rome*, and might have been the same at *Meca*, had he not prevented it by a choiser prudence, then our *Emperours* have formerly contributed to their affaires.

11. Nor is it a contemptible Paradox to maintain, that *the approach of Ruine or Slavery to a Nation, is visible at first in a too Rich or Meager Face of the Church: That* Causing a *Consumption*, by sucking too much from the Estates and Power of the

the *Diety*; as *This* doth a *Feaver*, by putting all into a present hazard, under the destructive pretence of an over-heated zeale. The same counsell being necessary to all Princes, in relation to *Religion*, and the guiders of it, as *Phaeton* is said to receive from his *Father*, when he undertook the conduct of the *Horses of the Sunne*; The *Church* being a *Plant* of that nature, that if it soar *too high*, it choaks Vertue and Sanctity in the superfluous *Ceremonies*, she is apt to produce, which, like too much paint, adulterates the face of Truth: but if she be kept *too low*, it doth not onely burne and consume all superfluous excrescencies, but *Decency and Order*; Allayes, without which we can have no *Uniformity* in a religious commerce: Since the *Mysteries of our Salvation* cannot be presented to us but in Earthen vessells, from whence, if they did not retaine some tincture, we could not so naturally own them as relating to us: Nay, an indiscreet *zeale* doth so farre participate of the qualities of the Aire over-heated, that it hatcheth the Plagues of *Rebellion*, where ever it is found, pretending their *Prince* negligent in *Religi-*

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on, or too exorbitant in his affection to *Court-Minions*, or an infringer of the *Law*, and obſtructer of *Juſtice*; weapons of *Sedition*, eaſily forged, if not found to lye ready before the Gates of the beſt of Kings; which ſubtill men ſnatch up, and put into the hands of ſuch, as they have formerly intoxicated with a deſire of *Reformation*, who ſeldome give over, till they meet their owne ruine, or the States.

12. If *Mahumet* exceeded the Comiſſion of Diſcretion, in ſwelling his *Alcaron* to ſo large a volume, (multiplicity of words breeding, in the ſame plenty, *Ambiguities*, among Divines as Lawyers) Yet he provided againſt this inconvenience, with as much caution as a by-paſt error is capable to admit, in prohibiting the *Reading* of it, to any but the *Prieſts*, and the *Interpretation* to all but the *Muſty*. For though the *Jewes* were injoyned to ſcore the *Commandements* on the *Walls*, as they did weare them after written on their Cloaths; Yet none but the *High Prieſt*, was ſuffered to enter into the *Holy of Holies*, or make any neer approach into the innermoſt place of the

Temple,

Temple, from whence the *Oracles* did proceed.

13. Neither is it a slight occasion of the *Turkish Unitie*, that their *Alcaron* lies patent to the *Exposition* of none but *their owne Pope*: And that *Petitions to God* are frequenter made among them than *Exhortations* or *Sermons to the People*: Because by the first they are humbled, through the repetition of their sins and wants; and by the other, puffed up with the ostentation of their good parts: Or, (if it may passe in no worse sense then it is uttered) in *Praying* we beg something of God we need; in *Preaching* he seems to demand Obedience from us, which no reasonable creature will think he can want. To say truth, the *frequency* of *Preaching* (to avoid the tedious repetition of the same thing) hath created such a *Familiarity* between us and our Maker, and a Feud against all that serve him not our way, as some take the boldnesse to predicate. He cannot doe this or that, limiting his Mercy so farre as to exclude from Salvation, not onely the *Turkes*, but all the rest of the world; so small a spot excepted, as

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a Flye may cover in an ordinary *Globe*. Doe not theſe vaine pleaders give the *Devill* more then (I hope) is his due? contrary to the verdict paſſed by God himſelfe, who ſaith, *The Earth is the Lords, and all that therein is*; without excepting thoſe many and vaſt Territories, too happy, rich and faire, to be let out to the Prince of Darkneſſe, by the great and magnificent Landlord of the world.

14. The whole ſcope of the more charitable *Turkiſh Doctrine*, concludes in theſe *Vies*; The *Honour* of *God*, *Obedience* to their *Prince*, *Mutuall Love*, *Reſolution* in *Warre*, with an invincible *Patience* in bearing all terreſtriall wants: The laſt, as a Hoop compaſſing the reſt, by which they are rendered the righteſt Veſſells againſt Sedition, and the apteſt to retain all things neceſſary to compliance in Government.

15. Yet, the more to ſtrengthen this tye upon the Subject, all hope of perfect *Happineſſe in this world* is ſuppreſſed, and their *Imaginations* wholly engaged on that which is to come: By this, the feare of lapſing into groſſer *Idolatry*, or profounder

founder *Atheisme*, is prevented: being bred only in expectation of *Miseris bare*, and so more guilty, then sensible of that ridiculous folly *David* so much upbraids them with, that consume time in the service of *Gods, that have neither Eyes to see, Eares to heare*, nor wills to helpe such as pray to them: For this Stupidnesse once found in That we have been taught to make the *Object of our worship*, and joyning forces with the *Afflictions*, that doe ordinarily attend the Best, and the *Blessings*, not observed to baulk the most Impious; This, I say, doth often hurry such as have had their hopes deluded, or adjourn'd beyond the extent of a small *Faith*, into wretchlesse *Infidelity*, or which is worse, a low and despicable opinion of their *Maker*; avoided by the *Mahumetans*, who look for no remoter *causes of Afflictions*, then what result from personall miscarriages, or the will of those in Authoritie; assigning their Maker an higher imployment, then the attending or accomplishing our earthly desires, which if attained, they might possibly binder us from greater in *Heaven*, to which this world is but a troublesome

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some and dark passage. Nor can the *Turks* prevarications, upon a most partiall Scrutinie, bear that streise of wickednesse, the more seared consciences of some *Christians* doe daily endure, manifest in the *French Massacre*; the foulnes of which story hath not yet been matched by *Mahumet*, or any of his disciples, never found to have borne such bitter fruit.

But not to insist upon the Equity or Reason of their *Law*, it gives them (as the Priests manage it) a satisfactory pretence, to esteem all wayes decent and consonant to Religion, that are able or likely to enlarge their Empire: Not questioning the *Quarrell*, no more then the future happinesse of such Soules, as have the Fate to expire in it. And if upbraided herewith, they desire the *Pope* to catechize his most Catholick Son, How he came by *Portugall*, *Naples*, *Milan*, *Sicily* &c. And what warrant he is able to produce, from *the Avenger of Bloud*, that might authorize him to shed that Ocean he let out in *America*, upon no more serious occasion, then Gold, & the Conversion of the people into slaves to dig it? Can there be a ranker Blasphemy

offered against the Lord of Hosts, then to set up his *Standard* in so vast and sanguine a field of Ambition, and the *Crosse* of his Son in a greater *Golgotha*, then that wherein he was Crucified? And all this under pretence of *Religion*; as if God were lesse jealous of the honour of his Church, then the *Priests* were of their *Temple*, into the verge of which they would not admit the price of bloud; much lesse then can the Judge of all things accept the persons of those that shed it.

16. The *awfulnesse* the Turks beare to *the Name of God* is so great, that they dare not employ the paper wherein they find it written, to any base office, but leave it hid in a hole to the farther disposure of the Owners Providence; And therefore possibly not so likely as *Christians* (who observe no such decency) to call it to the witnesse of an untruth; much to the *advantage of Governours* there, as it might be in *Christendome*, did Custome or Law screw the peoples minds up to as high an esteem of it. Neither would this lessen, but encrease the benefit *States-men* make by dispensing with its *abuse*, which is now so

so often and grosly practised, as it is apparent to the multitude, who are apter to follow the *Example* of their *Kings*, then the *Doctrine* of their *Teachers*; and might, (if any apparition of Justice or Religion were extant in their governors) have their Passions, as the *Turkes*, stirred up to approbation or dislike, proportionable to the more or lesse dismall relations their *Priests* read to them out of their *Mahumetan Legend*; so much the more excusable, because the awe borne to these, though but *Fictions*, doth help to spare the more ungratefull Rod, the too frequent use of which, hath in all times produced more Feare then Love.

17. This proves, *A false Religion doth contribute more to safety, then Atheisme*, or a stupid neglect of all Worships and that *a Clergy is of excellent concernment*, provided they keep close in their Doctrine, to *Reason of State*; not to be brought about, but through the mediation of their own Interest, by nothing so easily *biassed*, as comfortable *Livings*, and severe *Deaths* or punishments, in case their exhortations goe contrary to the grain of the Civill Government;

whose Administrators have not so much cause to complaine of the *Church-men* for their recoyling, since, by their frequent setting them upon the people, they taught them at last to worrey themselves: Their Tongue, like a Sword, being as well able to wound one side, as another, & moves according as it is enclined by profit or feare: Neither can any breach they have formerly made in the affaires of their Patrons, disparage the *Calling*, more then it doth a *piece of Ordnance*, that being lost through imprudence, and miscarriage, doth after batter down the house of her *Founder*; since all their Fulminations tend that way, to which the Hand that fills their Bellies is pleas'd to direct them, there being none easier warped then they, nor more violent assertors of what their own Wisdome or the worlds Folly hath given them leave to call *Theirs*, as were easily deducible from their frequent changings; which gives me the boldnesse to believe, that if all, which is without question the *Churches*, were restored, and the dignity of their Tenents and Calling vindicated, the truly honest would comply with any Government, out of Conscience,

ſcience, and the reſt batter contrary Parties in hope of Preferment.

Such as look upon the *Mahumetan Profeſſion*, as of the groſſer allay, becauſe ſo farre ſubſervient to worldly *Policy*, that the *Grandees and Prieſts*, like Juglers, carry the coale of zeale only in their mouths, not being heated themſelves with what they goe about to enflame others; ſuffering their Threats and Promiſes to riſe no higher, or fall no lower, thē ſuits with the politick reaches of the Prince; may find other *Courts* ſtanding in as prophane a poſture, eſpecially that of *Rome*, (not unworthily looked upon for the Magazeen, from whence the reſt of the world is ſupplied, with Wiſdome, ſhall I call it, or Deceit) where *Churchmen*, like *Burning-glaſſes*, caſt the Rayes of a Celeſtiall Fire into the Conſciences of others, carrying in the meane time, themſelves, a cold, Chryſtaline, & Fragil Creed, towards what they endeavour to informe the People; taking upon them a publick *cure of Soules*, out of a no more religious reſpect, then to provide againſt their private wants; yet connived at here, as well as by all wiſe Princes elſe, becauſe

Law can promote no *Good*, nor prevent *Evill*, but what is open to *publick cognisance*; whereas *Religion* penetrates so low, as to erect a Tribunall in every minde, where imagination sits, like a terrible Judge, pronouncing the charge she hath been taught from Power, Custome, and Education; which, through the compunction of a tender *Conscience*, doth so rack the most intrinsick thoughts of all prepossessed with the dread of a *future account*, as they doe not seldome confesse themselves guilty of such hainous offences, as none else are able to accuse them for; expecting more ease from the sentence of the publick *Magistrate*, then they can find in their private Consciences, which daily excruciate them with the terrors of *Hell*, and the losse of *Heaven*. To conclude, *by the heat of Religion many Vertues are hatched, and more Vices stifled in the shell.*

18. Yet little is observable in the *Rites* of *Mahumet*, that is *Chargeable* to performe, or *grievous* to the Nature of Man; Perhaps the cause why *Sacrifice* is not taken in, amongst the number of things borrowed from the *Jews*; as thinking

ing it incongruous with a Divine Eſſence, to be appeaſed or delighted by the loſſe and blood of poor Creatures, incapable of the Will or Power to tranſgreſſe; Though the inclination to Oppreſſion, Covetouſneſſe, and Cruelty, is no more a ſtranger to their natures, then ours; which proves *Sin an effect of Law* and conſtraint, rather then of Liberty, or Nature. But *the People of God* had a higher Proſpect from theſe bloudy *Ceremonies*, then the dark miſt about *Mahumet* would ſuffer him, or any other out of the true Church to apprehend; elſe Wolves, and not Sheep, had furniſhed their Altars. Neither did this new State Founder believe, any merit could reſide in a voluntary *Maceration*, or perſecution of our *Bodies*, (as if the moſt mercifull God, confeſſed to have prepared in future all celeſtiall beatitudes for thoſe that love him, ſhould for the preſent ſo farre diveſt that nature, as to delight to ſee us miſerable) which makes me think, that the *putting out of their Eyes* before the *Tombe* of their *Prophet* (now in uſe among them) to prevent the ſight of any thing after, and the *wearing* of ſuch huge and

paintull *Kings* in the most tender parts of their bodies, grew not from any Institute of his, but are rather Bastards of that *Church*, reputed for nothing more justly, *the Whore of Babylon*, then for burning her Proselytes with such exorbitant zeal, as the *Anchorites* and *Monks* are led by, when they *Whip* and *Stigmatize* themselves, out of hope to purchase Heaven: A lunacy superlative to theirs, who lend mony in this world, upō human security, to be paid in the next by God himselfe; No ways suitable with this Foūders Philosophy, who would have thought it lesse Blasphemy, with *Plutarch*, to acknowledge no God at all, then to imagine him owner of such Passions, as are unworthy, and below a Divine Essence.

19. THe totall *Abstinence from Wine* is the most materiall Sacrament of the Turks Obedience to *Mahumets Law*. Now least any should passe it as a lesse pertinent piece of Prudence, then really it is, I desire those that take more delight in condemning then acquitting the actions of *Antiquity*, to suspend their Judgements, till these Reasons are weighed. 1.

1. He was not ſo poore a Naturaliſt, as not to know, *Wine effeminates*, no leſſe then enervates the body of Man; the cauſe, *Sampſons* Mother, together with himſelfe, abſtained from it; otherwiſe he might (by the Witch, his Miſtreſſe) have been as eaſily charmed into Drunkeneſſe as Sleep. For though it may, not unpoſſibly, conjure up a preſent furious Reſolution, it was never yet fam'd for a friend to the Habit of valour.

2. It is a Sworne *Enemy to Diſciplines*; rendering the moſt obedient Souldiers, during that Diſtemper, deafe to all neceſſary words of Command.

3. *Wine dries the Braine* by Nature, *and beſides, by Accident, informes the Underſtanding*, through the Commerce and Familiarity it breeds with men of different Judgements: And ſo might have eaſily called up acuter Spirits, and cauſed a ſtricter *Scrutiny* into the *Miracles*, *Life*, and *Procedure* of their *Legiſlator*, then an infantine Power was able to correſpond for: There being no humour ſo bad, but this ſtrong liquor is able to make worſe and inflame; by repreſenting miſcarri-

ages in Commanders, and affronts from their Fellowes, which in a calmer temper could never have floated in so weake Imaginations: And thus led on by Chimera's, they, like *Samson*, snatch up the most improbable weapons, which they doe, not seldome, employ in almost as miraculous Successes.

4. The *Transparency* of *Drunkennesse*, able to conceale nothing to its owne Shame; And *Flexibility* to all things, rather then Reason.

5. Being yet in an itinerant condition, and so not likely to find *Wine* alwaies at hand; it could not have layn in the power of any earthly thing, but a premeditated & religious Injunction, to have kept such an untutor'd Rabble within the cõpasse of moderation, when ever they had met with it; Not seldome *the Fate of Armies*, who upon such disadvantages, have been all cut off by farre inferiour Powers, being themselves first overcome by *Drinke*.

6. To end this Digression, in which more might be said; *Wine* could be no fit ingredient to mingle with the heat of the Country they marched in, and the labour

bour they must needs encounter in the rough way, leading to so high Designes.

20. Not to presume to vie Instances with the people of the *Jewes*, who besides the prudence of *Moses*, had the unerring Spirit of God, to direct them in all emergent occasions (which, by the way, renders their frequent *Grumblings* no lesse prodigious, then blasphemous) I find few Nations more *constant to their Founders Aphorismes*, or that give lesse way to a refining, by the agitation of experiences, drawn from a confluence of differing events, then the *Turke*; for which he stands obliged to his own firme *Constancy in Religion*, and his Neighbours often variations, which have opened the gap to his most signall Conquests: It being impossible to shake this Tree of *Paradice*, but to the prejudice of the Prince in possession, and benefit of such subtil Serpents as desire to Supplant him; therefore not to be done out of any wantoner instigation, then an absolute Necessity. For though the *Change* of an opinion that is antient, may stop a leake for the present, it breeds such a worme, as doth cause a perpetual Colick in the State: Appa-

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rent in *France*, where the *Queen Mother* fomented the *Protestants*, to maintaine her *Regency*, and could never after be free from the danger of *Civil War*. This makes me wonder to find *Toleration of Religion* so common an Article in the Transactions of Princes; Since it no way suites with the complexiō of Prudence to palliate a present *defect* by such a *Recipe*, as may breed for the future an incurable *Disease*.

21. Yet because many *Customes* passe current in the *Minority of Power*, would prove childish and defective in a more *Setled Condition*, and after Posterity is swelled to so considerable a bulk, as that the most numerous part may be allowed to exchange Battleaxes and Swords into Shares and Pickaxes; it could not be avoided by humane Providence, but something should be wanting in relation to so vast an *Empire*, no lesse terrible to the Eare then admirable to their Eyes, have seen it; A Fortune perhaps as far above the hopes of their first *Founder*, as it transcends the ordinary extent of the like endeavours. Therefore he deserves, in my opinion, more Commendation, for foreseeing so much, then blame, in omitting

Provisions

Provisions against such accidents, as none but a *Prophet* indeed could be ever able to presage: Many Carriages being necessary to the *Sword*, are superfluous, if not destructive, when the *Scepter* is obtained: The first intending the death of Enemies, but the latter the Preservation of Subjects and Friends.

22. Whereupon his Successors finding that though the *Keyes of the Church can hang no where so quietly, as at the Girdle of the Prince*, (of which *Moses* is an unerring Example) yet to give a greater lustre to the beames of *Religion* (esteemed by all, if not quite corrupted, yet far lesse pure in Secular Vessels, then those set wholly apart for the worship of God;) And to have withall a favourable *Umpire* of a seeming more indifferent & sanctified allay, ready to compose any *Discontents*, that might be fomented between the *civill Power* and the *Subject*, either through others Ambition, or their own Oppression, not unlikely to result from so absolute a Jurisdiction; A Religious man, call'd the *Mufty*, is set up, whose *Habit* is *Green*, a colour none but the Kindred of *Mahumet* are suffered to weare,

weare, of which number he is alwaies ſuppoſed to be one. Now the better to enable him to ſtrike an awfull Reverence into the People, in caſe a miſled Zeale ſhould melt them into *Diviſions*, or a colder Licence freez them into a chill *Atheiſme*, the *Emperour* honours the *Muſty* in publick, with the higheſt *reverence* and moſt ſolemne *attention*, Denying him nothing he dare aske, No *Malefactor* being ſuffered to dye, hath the fortune to ſee him or be ſeen by him as he paſſeth; The Prince placing him, upon all weighty occaſions, next the *Throne*, where, by his publick *Geſtures*, he acts a lively and terrible dread of thoſe Crackers, that contain no other Sparkes of a celeſtiall fire, then what reſides in true *Reaſon of State*: Which is the *Art of Governing* to the beſt advantage for Prince and People.

And though this *Circumciſed Pope* yeilds an infallible *obedience* to all the *Emperour* inſpires him with, yet being *rarely ſeen*, the Generality reverence him, as if they apprehended ſomething about him more then humane. And let our new Politicians practiſe what they pleaſe, Experience

perience hath made it ſufficiently manifeſt, that *A too proſtituted Familiarity breeds contempt*, not only in things civill, but Divine. Now ſuch as think the Prudence, abſolutely neceſſary to the Conduct of humane affaires, uſeleſſe in thoſe relating to Heaven, may be out; For ſince *Miracles*, and the audible voice of God is ſilent, nothing is ſo likely as a *Sanctified Policy*, to retaine a competent Reverence for Religion, or maintain ſo much Probity, as is requiſite in a generall Commerce, to keep us from murdering one another, upon the inſtigation of Covetouſneſſe and Revenge. Therefore the way for *Prince* and *Prieſt*, to be thought more then men, is to doe nothing unworthily, ſay nothing unproperly, nor weare any thing undecently.

23. The Turk in this is happy, that the *Mufty* his *Pope*, no leſſe then *Mecca* his *Rome*, are within the reach of his power; ſo as he is not to ſeeke for the *Oracles* of *Religion* out of his own Territories; denied by cuſtome to the moſt conſiderable part of *Europe*, whoſe Princes are regulated by the *Popes* Inſpirations, not only in things concerning God, but what elſe

else may be fetched in, by his Pastorall Crook (*In Ordine ad Spiritualia.*) And lest this absurd proceeding should be exposed to a generall Reformation, the Bishop of *Rome* tolerates all *Incestuous Matches*, and other base ad unjust actions, Princes desire to have indulged, for feare, like *Hen. the* 8. they should doe it of themselves. The consideration of which makes them beare the heavy weight of so many *Ecclesiasticks*, who scarce acknowledge any obedience but to the Sea of *Rome*.

24. Though the *Turkish* Court no lesse then the Common People, do afford the Gaudy plumage of Honour to the *Mufty*, the highest Bird in this earthly *Paradise*; yet if he but offers to tune his note contrary to the true *Dialect of State*, he is straight unperched: It having been long observable in this Empire, That neither *Friends*, *Money*, *Sanctity*, *Love* of *People*, former *Desert*, or any present need of the persons accurate *Parts*, were ever found Antidotes sufficient to expell the poyson of the *Emperours Jealonsy*, who esteemes no number of Lives (though never so innocent) equivalent with

with his ſafety, or the Nation's. Yet if this *Holy man* comes to his death by an unnatural *Obſtruction*, the honour of his place is ſo far from receiving diminution by it, that his Body goes to the Grave with the leaſt aſpertion to his *Fame*; his Life being rather commended. So as his Succeſſor mounts into his Chaire untainted by any Prejudice; which *Chriſtians* contract to their *Popes* or *Patriarchs*, by the errors they diſcover after their Deaths; The cauſe, ſuch as ſucceed are not in ſo great eſteeme, as their Offices require; Thought capable to be tainted with the ſame faults, their Predeceſſors were owners of: not here imagined, becauſe the *Mufty*, how ill ſoever he deſerved of *Church* or *State*, is regiſtred among their *Saints*. In which appears the higheſt point of *Policy*, it being unlikely, any ſhould *queſtion* the truth of his *Judgement*, when he is in being, whoſe Actions they dare not arraigne after he is dead. And for his *Removall*, it paſſeth without the leaſt notice given to, or take by the Generality; who are otherwaies employed, either in careſſing their plurality of *Wives*, or diſpatching the buſi-

neſſe

neſſe neceſſary to their *Profeſſions*: Abominating us *Chriſtians* for *walking* to no more profitable an end, then to talke of *Newes*, &c.

25. This diſcourſe of the *Mufty's diſpatch* may afford ſome room, by the way, to enquire into the juſtice of *Clandeſtine Deaths*; a *Cuſtome* with the *Mahumetans*, but ſuch an one, as I hope never to ſee concocted into a more generall practice among us: yet obſerving how our *Chronicles* lie overflowed with ſuch vaſt Oceans of Bloud, ſpilt upon no more urgent and publick neceſſity, then what relates to the ends and ambition of a ſingle perſon, I will venture to ſay of it, and that only for the Meridian of *Turkey*, That *a Phyſitian or a Felton may be cheaper employed, then an Army*, and with leſſe prejudice to *the good of the Generality*, Voted by all Right and Reaſon, *the Supreame Law*, And for whoſe Salvation *Innocency* himſelfe was willing to dye. For where the ſole power of Life and *Limbe* reſides, as it doth here, in the breaſt of the Prince, under the warrant of an uninterrupted Cuſtome (the *malice* making the *Murder*, and not the blow) I cannot think

think it so hainous a Crime, that, in case a Subject hath justly forfeited his Life to the Safety or but the conveniency of the People, it should be taken the most advantagious way, to make the better compensation for the dammage, it had or might have brought to the publick. A *private execution* being esteemed here no more *Murder*, where the cause is just, then one made publick is able to expiate the bloud of an Innocent.

I know, so many *Inconveniences* lie in the way of this *Custome*, as it appears too unwieldy to be mannaged without danger by a single person, whose Judgement cannot be so cleerly separated from passion, as meerly to intend his Countreys preservation, without the mixture of some gall of revenge; A candor not unpossibly to be found in the State of *Venice*, by nothing so long preserved in being, as a *Custome* they have sometimes to *make away* their greatest *Senators* upon no stronger evidence, then what meer *Suspicion* brings in against them; preferring rather the cutting off a *Limbe*, in which appears the first Symptomes of *Putrefaction*, then to hazard the whole body

body by an incurable *Gangrene*. But whether the dammage of this practice, exceeds the profit, or the benefit the danger of the consequence, cannot be easily resolved; Since *Princes* and *Statesmen* carry often such pernicious humours, as they convert that into a *dayly practice*, which, like *David's* eating the Shew-bread, is only permitted in case of *Necessity*.

26. Queen *Elizabeth*, in other things the best consulted Monarch that ever filled the *English* Throne, forfeited more good opinion and honour, in using the *Hangman* in the death of her sister *Mary* of *Scotland*, then if she had employed all the *Mountebanks* in *Europe*: For though *Princes* stand as neer the Grave as other Mortals, in relation to *Diseases*, no lesse then *Desert*; Yet the hand of *Justice* cannot decently appeare in their Executions, without debauching the Majesty of her own Power; Princes being esteemed the mouth of the Law. Now since the *Council* of *England* were too pious or hypocriticall, to use the *Fig* in the sence of *Italy*, *Spaine*, and other Nations, celebrated for more wisdome; they might under

under an higher repute of Sanctity have ſpared the *Leaves*, and not laid the faule on poore *Daviſon*, that did nothing but by Commiſſion; an Apron that diſcovered more ſhame then it could poſſibly hide: * All looking upon it, not only as the deſire, but the act of the *Queene* and her *Council*, who by this publick procedure dilated the reproach over the whole Nation. Now I appeale to all not indulgent to a *Form* of *Juſtice*, though never ſo ridiculous, who obligeth his Priſoner moſt, he that takes away the *irkeſome Ceremonies*, Diſhonour and Expectation of D·ath, or he that accumulates them all on a Block? As if that which is *Murder* in a *Chamber*, were not only far greater, but more terrible on a *Scaffold*, where nothing but Death and her attendants appeare.

27. But to returne to *Turkey*. It lies not out of the way of poſſibility, but that the *Grand Signior*, in regard of his abundance of Wives, may have two, or more *Children* at one and the ſame time: Therefore to break the neck of all Diſputes, apt to reſult from contrary *claims*, the *Emperour in fact ſtrangles all the reſt*; a confeſt tyrannicall Tragedy, not to be heard

heard without detestatiō, yet we fear too often acted among *Christians*, else the Line of the *Catholick King*, no lesse then that of *France*, and those smaller ones in *Italy*, might long since have choked their Felicity in a crowd of *Rebellions*: Neither need I end here, were it my designe to exceed the Counterpane by home-born examples. Yet such a *Querie* may be seasonably made, If *the good of All* (as I said before) be the *Supream* Law, & grounded upon that of *Nature*, whose chiefe businesse is to intend the *preservation* of the *whole*, without any nicer relation to *particulars*, then to place or remove them according as they suit or bring profit to the generall occasions, a duty all are born to; why should such be blamed, as take the most probable ways to promote peace, & stop the *Posterne gates* of the *Court*, by which more dangerous *Warrs* enter, then do ordinarily proceed from the *invasions* of *Strangers*? And here, by the way, we may note, That *Republicks have not such impulsive causes to shed innocent blood, as Kings*: especially after that Sluce is stopped, which the most for their preservation are forced to let run at first, till the

State

State is reduced to an wholsome Parity, and the ambitious itch of all Pretenders cured.

28. Nothing is *penall* by the *Lawes* of this Nation, but what is alwaies, or, at least for the present, destructive to the *well being* of the Prince or People: By which the more active *Youth* (the stronger ingredient to compose an *Army* of) remain so fully satisfyed with an uninterrupted *License* to attain the farthest extent of their desires, as they apprehend no felicity beyond the *Liberty* they enjoy: And in such as Time and Weariness hath exchanged the humour of *Lust*, for one more *Thriving*, the Priviledge they have to *exact on Strangers*, hinders their apprehensions from finding that loathsome taste, *Forraigners* imagine to result from so *absolute* a *Jurisdiction*, as is, and hath been for many ages exercised by their *Emperours* over them. And thus the *State* is a double gainer, this *Indulgence* affording opportunity for all to lay out themselves to the advantage of their Country, either in *getting Wealth*, or *Souldiers* to defend it.

29. Contrary to the practise of *Christi-*

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ans, that plant the Canons of their *Law* and arm the Messengers of Death and *Damnation* against the Gnats of *juvenile lapses*, but permit the weightier sins of *Oppression*, *Schisme*, and *Ambition*, which never leave boyling in their heads, till they discover an opportunity, by which they may overflow the ancient Government in turning the peoples eyes towards the *Faults* of their *Prince*, and stopping them with prejudice against his *Vertues*: which may be done under the Seale of so secure a Caution, as the Actors are often upon the Stage, before those intended to be the subject of the *Tragedy* are able to take notice of it, especially in Nations glutted with Peace and plenty, or such as long to cast off an usurped Power; whereas it is possible, if *Nature* were not so *hard* to be bed, and deprived of vent (by which she is not seldome carried through an impetuous Lust, out of the true rode of *Generation*) such mindes might be taken up with lesse destructive diversions; *The desire* being as hard to be appeased, as that of hunger or thirst: Neither can the *defect* daily observed to increase in our *Issue*, be justly imputed to any thing else, than the meag-

meager desires, so strict a confinement breeds in us, by which the spirits are so curdled and quell'd, as they rarely produce any thing admirable for *Strength* or *Stature*, the highest perfections of Nature, and no lesse usefull in Peace than Warre; so as the *Names* and *Estates* of the most illustrious *Families* this age affords, depend on *Children* our fore-fathers would hardly have christened; being fit for nothing but *Learning*; a Trade had never been so over-laid, but to find employment for these *Changelings*; who *Fairy*-like throw about Fire-brands in State and Church, upon the least apprehension of any want or superfluity in Ceremony or Decency. To conclude, Such as too rigidly expell by their forked *Lawes*, any *naturall desires*, forget they will returne, or breake out into a worse mischiefe; No lesse then the more prudent Advice of *Solomon*, *not to wring the nose* of the People to voide excrements, *lest Blood should follow*: For if *Law* did not outwrangle *Nature*, she might possibly be heard to plead, that our ordinary *Marriages* doe rather tire then satisfie her desires. And though it may not be owned

as a decent *Poesie* for the *Ringleaders* to *Sedition*, yet the setting too high a *Mulct* upon the peoples *Peccadillio's*, and dissents in Judgement, no way in their power to prevent, though possibly to dissemble, is the cause of a loathing of the present *Goverment*, and a certaine presage of ruine to all in Authority, if not the whole State, to be brought about under the pretence of zeale to *Religion*, and care of the peoples *Liberty*; though the first is no more visible in the *Church*, than the latter is in the *civill* Administration of affairs; Far exceeding the Cheat of *Ananias* and *Sephira*, who gave a considerable part of what was their own, whilst these swallow all the *primitive Charity* had laid out in *pious uses*, belying so farre the *holy Spirit*, as to pretend the worst they can say or do, is dictated by it. And I wish *Mahomet* were only guilty in this, who made not his *Religion* alone, but his loathsome *Disease* a Baud to his Ambition & Rapine.

30. *Punishments* in *Turkey* are *more sharpe than common*, which doth rather stupifie than waken the humour to *Rebellions*, and are executed on open *Malefactors*, not the *Darlings* of the people, removing

moving the latter upon occasion by a *clancular procedure*; As in case a *Madman* (one of the *Prophets* of their Rable for such they esteeme so) should inveigh against Authority, they are far wiser than to stigmatize or whip them through the *City* (as we used to doe) before the people, who take themselves not only concerned, but wounded in the generall *Liberty*, through their *sufferings*; It being their nature to take hold of, and believe any *evill report* of such *Governours* (at least) as are employed in *Taxes*, or any other *ungratefull service*, though most necessary for the use of the *State*: therefore in such cases, if they cannot tempt him over to their side, by *Gold*, they stop his mouth with something *lesse cordiall*: and if his body be found, no diligence is omitted in the enquiring after some *Rustin*, on whom the people may be likely to father the *Murther*; or the Corps not appearing, they pretend him rapt up into Heaven by the mediation of their great *Prophet*, at whose feet he sits pleading their cause, and guarding them from some *Plague*, they say, impends over them for their *disobedience* to the *Emperour*,

rour, the Vicegerent of God upon Earth. Nor doth this often times serve, but a solemne *Fast* is appointed, where the *Statesmen* do in shew, and the *Ignorant* in pure zeale, afflict themselves; during which time, the newes of some *victory*, or happy accident, is brought and owned as the *returne* of their *Prayers*, no lesse than a heavenly approbation given to the Actions of those in Power: Thus after the multitude have been sufficiently *chastised* for the *Courtiers faults*, they become humble and quiet, submitting their backs to any burden, out of a feare of worse, and an opinion they have that it is consonant to the will of God.

Yet in my judgement no wise Prince ought to tire out *this remedy* by a too often application, lest it should not only loose its *vertue*, but breed a worse *Disease*; an over-heated *zeale* consuming not seldome the wrong end to that for which it was at first kindled, being apt to be driven by the contrary winds of Ambition and Covetousnesse upon the *Church*, where the *Buckets* use to hang, likeliest to quench the flames of any other *sedition*, than what results from this Wild-fire; which

which for the most part melts the *Lead*, & consumes the foundation of the *House of God*, under pretence of his Service; a course that is so far from *edification*, that it makes all not acquainted with the true knack of *Ambition*, *hate to be reformed*: Whose second remove is to the *Court*, where finding all things in a *rotten condition*, or at best obnoxious to be construed to a sense contrary to the prepossessed minds of the Major part; the whole Fabrick is consumed, to the very *person* of the *Prince*, out of whose ashes another ariseth that proves a *Bird of the same feather*, if not a worse: The *Subjects* returning home laden, for the generality, with no more benefit than the *Beggers*, that in a drunken fit expose themselves to the danger of the Law, Wounds, Beating, and Death, only to burne the old *Whipping-post*; though dayly experience informes them, they can neither be quiet or safe without it, which is the cause that in all places they set up a new one, when the fury of the distemper is over. *Thus are Subjects no lesse vaine, that doe rebell, than Governors mad, that provoke them to it.*

31. The Subjects in *Turkey* have nothing *hereditary*: All *Honours*, and *places of profit*, being peculiar to *Desert*, and determine with *Life*, without the least partiality shewed to *greatnesse of Birth*, unlesse that it produceth more jealousie than favour, to have descended from a Father formerly in power. This hangs no lesse weight of *Restraint* on the *Ambition* of all in actuall Administration of publick Affaires, than it adds *Industry* to such as have not yet attained to that height. By which a foule errour in *Europe* is obviated, where men ascend to the *highest places* by the mediation of *Friends* and *Money*, rather than any advantage their *worth* brings to the Commonwealth: It being most ordinary for Fools to be admitted into the *Temples of Honour* and *Riches*, whilst the choicest endowments of Art and Nature are suffered to pray, if not beg, without.

32. The *Emperour's* being here *Administratour to all dead mens Estates*, forceth their *Children* to be solicitous after *trades*, as having none to rely on for a future *maintenance*, but themselves. And to adde reputation to this laudable custome

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the *Grand Segnior* profeſſeth ſome *Art* himſelf, in which he diſdains not to conſume his ſpare time. From whence accrues this benefit to the State, That *Diſbanded Souldiers* (the peſt of Chriſtian Nations) are one day in Armes, the next at work in their Shops. Neither have they ſuch confluence of *Idle men*, *Lawyers*, and *Scholars*, which among us make up a third of the people, and are, for the moſt part Contrivers and Fomenters of all the diſtractions found in *Church* and *State*: From whence reſults the ſevereſt of the Curſes, God left to the choice of *David*; For the *Plague* and *Famine* terminate chiefely in *Children* and the *weakeſt* of *men*; whereas the *Sword* (like ſome *Monſters* recorded) makes the *faireſt Women* and *choiceſt Men*, the object of its luſt and fury, and therefore brings an incomparable infelicity whereever it reignes.

33. This Cuſtome of *Trade* and independency on future *hope* religiouſly obſerved, doth cut the cords of ſuch *Vanities* as draw *Chriſtians* into *Luxury*, by a profuſe expenſe in *Furniture*, and no leſſe exceſſe in *Building*, to a treble pro-

31. The Subjects in *Turkey* have nothing *hereditary*: All *Honours*, and *places of profit*, being peculiar to *Desert*, and determine with *Life*, without the least partiality shewed to *greatnesse of Birth*, unlesse that it produceth more jealousie than favour, to have descended from a Father formerly in power. This hangs no lesse weight of *Restraint* on the *Ambition* of all in actuall Administration of publick Affaires, than it adds *Industry* to such as have not yet attained to that height: By which a foule errour in *Europe* is obviated, where men ascend to the *highest places* by the mediation of *Friends* and *Money*, rather than any advantage their *worth* brings to the Commonwealth: It being most ordinary for Fools to be admitted into the *Temples of Honour* and *Riches*, whilst the choicest endowments of Art and Nature are suffered to pray, if not beg, without.

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portion of what the Owner needs, in relation to his particular Family; the buriall of *Timber* and other rich *Materials*: much to the prejudice of *Shipping*, besides the *Rent charge* it puts upon the possessors Revenue to maintaine it in *Repaire*.

34. Neither is this people apt to follow the *Europeain* vanities of *Horse-races*, *Hunting*, *Hawking*, and amorous *Entertainments*: Their *plurality* of *Women* quenching with more security in regard of *Health*, and lesse *Charge*, the thirst of *Change* ordinarily attending the tedious cohabitation with *one*.

35. The *Turks* are very *magnificent in publick Buildings*, especially such as relate to the service of God; none of the weakest effects of their *Teachers* sufficiency; who by working upon tender Consciences, are able (like ours) to make them so unnaturall fooles, as to skip their neareſt Relations, and to designe what they got, they know not how, in providing conveniencies for they know not whom: By which meanes such *Baths* and *Mosces* are erected, as do increase the ease of *Travellers*, no lesse than the zeale of those that make the purchase of Hea-

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ven the object of their endeavours, whilſt *Chriſtians* raze the names of *Benefactors* out of the fore-heads of ſumptuous *Piles*, ſuffering the ill-mingled ingredients of Covetouſneſſe, and a burning deſire of Change in Religion, to conſume brave *Monuments of Charity*, by alienating the *Lands*, and melting the *Lead* of the Houſes, which a more ancient and fervent zeal (though now indited of *Superſtition*) had ſolder'd on: Therefore if I were worthy to give *Advice* to our *publique Spirits*, they ſhould hereafter aſſigne their *Legacies* and Contribution towards the mending of *Common Wayes*, and erecting *uſefull Bridges*; more likely to carry their Names to eternity, than *Churches* or other *pious Foundations*, apter to have their conveniency queſtioned by covetous and ungrateful Poſterity; ſince earthly Paths are more trodden and better indulged, than thoſe leading to heaven: Nothing being likely to continue long, that is able to bear the charge of its own ruine. Therefore thoſe that accumulated theſe rich *Donations*, on the *Church* and *Seminaries of Learning*, inſtead of perpetuating their own fame,

laid a foundation for the ruine of that, they only intended to preserve. It being unpossible that any humane Institution should continue without so much shew of Corruption (especially if rich & splendid) as may give a pretence for the rapine of those, who being inapprehensive of the sence of Honour and Religion, are instigated by Avarice for a present necessity. This makes me, though with trembling presage, that the ruine of *Christianity* in *Europe* is not very far off: because the greatest *Revenues* of the *Catholick Church* are looked upon with more Envy than Religion; which once proclaimed corrupted, or unnecessary, she lies open to the plunder of all. Upon which consideration, the *Pope* hath not done imprudently to gather a Church in *America*, whether he may one day be forced to retire, whose Zeale is likelier to be hotter than the *Europeans*, that have had their cooled with the winds of so many contrary Doctrines. Thus doth *Religion* run from one *Meridian* to another, thriving best at first; for after a long abode she so far sharpens and refines the spirits of men, as they are able to discover such

Abuse

Abuſes and Errors, as may afford them a pretence to cut her own throat for what ſhe poſſeſſes: when, God knows, it is not the *Doctrine* that is changed; but their *Apprehenſions*: for if the heat of Zeal be miſimployed; which is able to concoct any opinions into the nouriſhment of Religion, all things after will prove flat and nauſeous. This might tempt *Mahumet* to ſtuff his *Alcaron* with ſuch high and *myſticall expreſſions*, to buſie and amuſe ſuch as can taſt no Doctrine, but what may bite the Conſcience and perplex the Underſtanding.

36. THough it be *natural* for *Founders* of *Nations* to *enlarge* their *Confines*, to the fartheſt extent, Prudence or Power is able to ſtretch them; I finde the *Inſtitutes* of none ſuite better with ſuch a Deſigne, then thoſe *Mahumet* and his more immediate *Succeſſors* have followed: Yet to ſpare my own memory, no leſſe then their's (if any be) that will venture ſuch a Jeu ell as Time, in the ſurvaying & purchaſe of ſo a wild a field of Obſervations; I ſhall fix upon *Three things* they chiefely labour to *promote*:

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Out of which it will not only be easie to extract *their First Principles*, but deduce the *subsequent materialls* imployed in the edification of this vast *Body*; whose stride, though it extends not so farre as *Spaine*, yet it is more compact, and in that better able to remove, without danger of falling, any blocks that *neighbour Princes* may, out of jealousie cast in the way of its felicity: not to be parallel'd in any part of the world, with which Profit or Curiosity hath made us familiar.

37 The *first* lies in *Obedience*, which, being divided between *Religion* and *Empire*, asketh the more prudence to prevent danger; least such as pretend to be the sole Heirs of God, do not cozen the Prince of his Birthright, under a popular discovery of a too rough hand in *Government*, or error in divine *Worship*, in which the poor claim no lesse ample a share than the rich; all being noted to fight with the greater animosity for the world to come, the lesse they finde themselves possest of in this: it appearing to them unsuitable with the *Goodnesse* and *Justice* of a *Supreame Power*, that the Creature should not some where meet with *felicity*. And

to prevent all sinister misprisions incident to the *Religion* of the Prince (the gap with which the babes of *Rebellion* and *Novelty* are pampered) Though the *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil Powers* be both radically in the *Grand Segnior*; yet the pontificall *Mufty* hath Studied the Art to make the people believe, these two Streames doe flow, one from a lesse, and the other from a more Sanctified fountaine: By which is gain'd this huge advantage, that the *Emperor* hath all he *dislikes*, condemn'd as it were out of the mouth of God, no lesse then what he *likes*, approved; It being upon no slighter penalty than Death, to refuse to acquiesce in any *Sense*, this holy man puts upon the *Alcaron*: nor can the *Interpretation*, State-reason requires this day, perplex one quite contrary, the next, if it may be more usefull, because *nothing is registred* but what respects men; things relating to God being left free to the disposure of the *Prince*, who by the lips of the *Mufty* directs the knowledge of the people; himself like a weather-cock pointing only that way which the breath of *Policy* blowes; the *inferi-*

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our sort of *Priests* in the mean while screaming like Lapwings in the ears of the Rabble, lest they should observe the proceedings of the *Court*, which is the Nest wherein all their *Grievances* (as they call them) are hatched.

38. Now, concerning *Obedience* in things meerly *civill*, though the hand of the *Priesthood* be not out in all emergent cases, yet the Subject having no Vote in the proposall or consent to *Lawes*, all being solely at the will of the Prince, they have nothing but Patience to fly to, in the highest *exactions* he is pleased to impose; no *Instrument* appearing of any mutuall *Compact* betwixt *Him* and the *People*, so as Life and Estate are meerely *arbitrary*; better endured, because the *Crown* being Heir to all men, none can be made poorer than they were born; it being the nature of all, to esteem highest of their Birth-right, a Terme here not understood.

39. The second thing promoted, is an impartiall *Parity* throughout all his Dominions; in relation to everything but *Desert*; none appearing higher or lower then the rest, but according to the Ele-

he fills in the *State*; all *Offices* remaining wholly in the disposure of the *Emperour*: This removes the Subjects eyes from the *Grandees*, who might else be tempted to Faction, and fixeth them upon the *Throne* as their naturall Object, and most auspicious to their Fortunes. Thus are the Rich humbled into Thraldome out of *Feare*, and the rest out of *Hope*; two Reines, which whosoever hath the art to handle, may guide the world whither he please: This keeps the Turks chast from *Rebellion*, either out of scorne to follow one of no more noble extraction than themselves, or through the baseness bred in them by receiving *Injuries*, not onely from the legall *Magistrate*, but the *Souldier*, whose Authority lies in his Sword, which the common people have as little warrant to wear, as skill to use; yet like the *Head-prentice* they execute the same Tyranny upon *Strangers*, their Masters are pleased to exercise over the: where terrour is augmented, because *Punishments* are not confin'd either by Law or Custome, though they oftener exceed then fall short of the merit of the cause. And here it cannot be observed with-

without a serious reflectiō upon the force Imagination borrowes from the religious reverence they beare to their Prince, that such as will contemn all dangers in his defence, are rarely found (till of late) in *Arms* against him, though provoked by the most heavy *oppressions*. Thus we see how far they may erre, that make *successe* the Touchstone of the truth of a Profession, or the peace it brings to a Nation, or the owners Conscience; and experience can produce millions of Examples, that men only fleeled with erroneous opinions have been no lesse daring upon fire and sword, then those marching under the target of truth.

40. The third thing is *Fortitude*; endowed so richly by no Nation as the *Turks*, whose *Emperour* placeth all *Offices* in the *Van* of brave Actions; whilst his *Priests* and *Prophets* are no lesse diligent in mustering up the *joyes of Heaven* in the *Reare*: And for *Cowards*, they have not only Poverty & Reproach attending them in this world, but Hell and Damnation in the next. Thus by baiting all the ends of his *Militia*, he doth not only catch the *covetous* and *ambitious*, but those attached with the invincible humours of *superstition*

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& melancholy, By which, like oxen, they are rendred not only fit, but willing to endure both labour and Slaughter. Thus *Phantasy* but a weake shell in it self, yet if fill'd with Sulphureous zeale, & the opinion of Truth, and future Happinesse, confounds not only all that dare appeare in oppositon of it, but the very Designe (if capable of so much prudence and moderation as to project one) that she intended to promote. Therefore such as consider, how far the *Turks Conquests* are indulged by their *Religion*, have more cause to wonder, they are not masters of the whole world, then that they enjoy such a proportion thereof, as they doe; where the *Sisters* and *Daughters*, of the *Emperours* own blood, are often given in marriage to reward that which was bravely ventur'd by the meanest Souldier; whose *Issue* by custome can challenge no higher place in their Unkles or Grandfires favour, then they are able to purchase by their own *Desert*, he owning none for *Kindred*, beyond such as are allied to *Vertue*, *Wisedome*, or some other quality that may render them usefull to the State: Unlike the practice of

Germany

Germany, where ten or more bear the *Title* of one *Principality*, having nothing to feed on but the air of Honour, looking like solitary and demolished *Castles*, quite destitute of Strength or Territory, the name of the place being only left to uphold them.

41. In the pursuit of their *Fortitude*, I shall say something more of their proceedings in *Warre*: and first of *Eunuchs*, by many thought lesse propense to Valour, and therefore possibly to be noted in the *Turks* as a blemish, by such as doe not warily observe, that *Caution* and *Circumspection* are no lesse, if not more, necessary in the *General*, and often times harder to be met with, than *Daring* and undaunted *Resolution* in the *Souldier*; it being one thing to *execute*, another to *direct*. Therefore the *Grand Segnier* doth not seldome make *Eunuches Commanders* in *Chiefe*, never Common Souldiers; the *Feare*, which is necessary in the first, being destructive in the latter; more Armies having perished for want of *Moderation*, than *Valour*, in the Head: Besides their incapacity of *Children* gives such caution for their Fidelity, as cannot be

expected

expected from one more virile; a perfect man being in a condition to gain honour and profit by the *Change of Government*, whereas one so mutilated is capable of little more than shame and losse. And because it is unlikely to cut the throat of this *Empire* with any sword but her own, such are imployed with most discretion in these high places, as are least apt to rebell.

42. *The Janizaries*, on whom they fixe the beliefe of *Victory*, are by a primitive Institution *prohibited Marriage*; yet least this should make a gap in their felicity, the wives, and daughters of the lesse usefull, especially those their Sword hath subdued, are without question subject to their desires. This wings their *obedience* in the performance of Commands, though pointing at never so *remote Employments*. For quite unshackled from the magneticall force of an *affection to wife* and *children*, by use made naturall (which chaines *Christians*, like fond *Apes*, to their own doors) every place is fancied their proper sphere; because it cannot afford courser *Meate*, harder *Lodging*, or severer

severer *Discipline*, than they have at home: Neither doth the want of *Wives* raise such cries as are made by the *Relicts* and *Children* of slaine *Souldiers*; the appeasing of which swells in other Nations to little lesse than would pay a small Army: This *Emperour* being Heire as well to the Lives as Estates of his Subjects.

43. They seldome grant *Quarter* till all is subdued: By this they prevent fighting twice with the same Adversary. Neither are they forward to *exchange Prisoners*, lest in their abode with the Enemy, their affections should be warped towards any more moderate discipline, observable in those they oppose: And out of the like Jealousie they seldome continue *Warre* long with the same Nation; *Change* not only preventing all Contagion, that may arise from Commerce with worse-ordered people, but affording the Souldier at least a seeming delight, in variety. And in farther relation to *Quarter*, a Prince rich in Subjects doth rather spoile then mend his Market by such kind of barterring, by rendring Enemies the bolder,

der, as being readier to dispense with the danger of *Imprisonment* than *Death*: Neither are any miraculous effects of *Despaire* much to be feared, where there is roome enough left to evade: This humour being as single and rare, as the *Phœnix*, and not to be generated but out of the ashes of hope. And he that considers, that the *Turke* is not of so poore an allay, as some Princes, which are undone by a *victory*, if it costs too deare, may see his designe in a great part satisfied by the *Employment* and losse of his *Souldiers*; the too great encrease of such Spirits being all he hath reason to feare. This makes *Warre* (an Art in other places) an absolute Nature and necessity here.

44. He is not yet so fond of Honour, as to lay out his endeavours in the purchase of places not able to pay for their own Chaines; A charge the *Catholick King* is never like to abate so long as he is Master of *Naples*, *Millan*, &c. that cost more to keep, then the profit made of them can compense; the like may be yet said of *Ireland*, &c.

45. Their

45. Their *Ordnance*, found the largest in the known world, are carried into the field in the Common Souldiers Pockets.

46. The generall *Food* of the *Turks*, both in City and Camp, is *Rice* & *Water*; Their most dainty addition being but a *Hen*, or some small lump of *Flesh*. This makes them pursue victory over desolate Places, and starve such Armies as presume to follow them, who are as certainely overwhelmed with an Ocean of Necessities, as the *Egyptians* were by the *Red Sea*.

47. Their *Expeditions* are not ordinarily undertaken, but in *Summer*; By which many great dangers are prevented, lesse-advised Princes do daily cope withall, in meeting with *Contingences* that arise from *Want* and bad *Weather*, harder to be vanquished than the Enemie himselfe. For though their Numbers be great; yet the little, *Use* hath taught them to be content withall, is easily met with at that Season, and renders them so impregnable against what we call *Fortune*, as she may possibly bend her Bow, but is not able to distresse them by the strongest Arrowes her Quiver affords. Besides the

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Echo the *Report* of the *Emperours ſtrength* makes in the hollow hearts, thoſe Princes it concerns, carry one to the other, is not onely Harbinger, but in a great part, Operator of his Victories; when *Chriſtians* march but with part of their ſtrength, leaving the reſt to follow in the nature of a *Reſerve*, (as if there were hope a paucity ſhould prevaile when the groſs is beaten, who, if joyned, might poſſibly have warranted Succeſs) and do by this not only leſſen the *repute* of their Power (of no ſmall conſequence in the *Art of War*) but diſcourage any other from joyning with them, who upon the ſound of an *invincible Army* would prick up their Ears.

48. If a *Shock* be given to the *Emperors Forces*, he ſtayes not long enough in that place to receive another, but *returns* home without tempting his Fortune farther that Summer; Wiſely concluding it much unlikely (as in truth it is) for a *diſheartened Army* to perform what ſhe could not bring about when the Souldier was in full plight. Neither can the certain *cauſe* of an *Overthrow* be eaſily penetrated into; and till that be

be throughly surveyed, no Prince may in discretion hazard the chance of a *second Battaile*, though the *Commanders* appeare never so confident of good successe; it suiting with their *interest* both in honour and safety, to venture all, rather than come out of the Field with so great a reproach; Considerations below a Superlative power, to whom *Security* ought to be more deare, than any thing that carries the countenance of greater losse then gaine; It not being impossible but that the former disgrace might arise from some *Treachery* in the *Principall Officers*; Therefore it is good Policy to examine every *Card* in the *Pack*, before the dealing of a *new Game*, especially upon a fleshed party: Yet with this caution, that many things must be put to the venture by the *Founder of an Empire*, which suite not with the Prudence of one already *established*; For *Repute*, far more necessary then *Safety* to the first, is below it many degrees in the second; since he that holds but part of a Cudgel in his hand, may retreat in quiet, but he that hath quite lost it shal be bit by the same dogs that gave way to, or fawned

ed upon him before his force was ſpent.

49 The *Grand Segnior* (after augmentation of the Empire) is in nothing more ſtudious then of meanes to *Employ* the *Superfluous* quantity of *Souldiers*, his vaſt eſtate produceth. By this making thoſe inſtrumentall to the propagation of honour and dominion, that in ſuch narrow yet fruitfull Cockpits as *England*, breed nothing but *Sedition*; and for want of eaſe and plenty, ſtrive like *Jacob* and his *Brober* for more room; it being poſsible for evill Goverment to convert the bleſsing of *Increaſe and multiply* into as heavy a curſe, as ever yet fell from the mouth of God: Therefore a too zealous proſecution of *Peace* (which ſome Princes, not unwiſe in their ſingle judgement called *King-craft*) is a no leſſe vain, than deſtructive Art; and ſo unſuitable to the good and ſafety of any Goverment, that it hatcheth *Plagues*, or which is more contagious to a State, *Civil Warre*: Neither can this *Pluriſie* be eaſier cured, or the Spirits of *Rebellion* better evaporaed, then by opening the peoples veins in ſome *Forraigne Imployment.*

50. The *Turkey Cavalrie* are seldome in evill *plight*, because their *Horses* are still under the owners eye, who for the most part doe serve upon them, and have to that end large proportions of *land* allowed them, with other *immunities* not common to the people, to whom they are both a curbe and a protection: And between these and the *Foot* such a feud is bred, either by Custome, Nature, or Art, that it is reported, the *Horse* will (if unprevented) burne their *litter*, least the *Infantry* should imploy it to their better accommodation: Now though this may looke like a prejudice in the field, it secures all feare of *combination* at home. Neither is it a slight addition to security, that the greatest part of this *Militia* consists of such as were selected out of *Children, paid for tribute* by conquered Nations, who composed of severall aires, cannot associate with that ease as Armies made up of one *Language*; which like the *Swiss*, doe not seldome call for *Gbelt* when they have the Enemy in view.

51. Their strength lies in the *Field*, and not in *Fortresses*, looked upon as *nurseries of Rebellion*, especially in so absolute

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a Tyranny, where it is more common for the *Emperour* to ſend for the *Head* of a *Baſhaw*, then to be denyed; A power that would be buried in *ſtronger Holds*, out of which few would come to ſuch entertainement, as is given to the Grandees upon the leaſt invitation of *Jealouſie*. Not to beat more upon this Argument, long ſince driven up to the head by the beſt of Judgements, That *fortified places ſuite the affaires of weake Princes, better then thoſe of greater ſtrength, &c.* he that hath men in abundance needs them no more, then thoſe of narrower confines and leſſe populous are able to ſubſiſt without them.

52 They make not *Religion* the *cauſe*, or at leaſt proclaime it not for the principall *Motto* of a *Warre*; which wakens the attentions and invokes the aſſiſtance of all the contrary *profeſſion*; the pooreſt man taking himſelfe ſo farre intereſted in the vindication of his *Faith*, that if he hath nothing elſe to venture, he will account it ſacriledge to deny his life: But no ſound of that being heard, the voice of hope and feare drownes that of danger and concernment, in the prejudice and hatred they beare to their *Neighbours*; Fa-

thering all misfortune that fals to them upon divine vengeance, in opposition of which they dare not engage; no more then most Princes are willing to part with their *Gold* till it is too late; like the wretched inhabitants of *Constantinople*, who chose rather to loose all in an entire sum, than to breake it for the preservation of themselves & their Country. And if any thing could have tempted *Christians* to the rescue of their own intereſt in the costody of others, it would have been then, when this *Emperiall City* was in such danger. But *the moderation of Cæsars power* was so gratefull a Spectacle for the present, as it dazeled their apprehensions in relation to any future inconveniences; yet when this *key of Europe* was lost, those that before were quiet, if not contented Spectators, began to mistrust their own doores, and bewaile their ignorance, in not foreseeing that the effects of such a neighbourhood was not so easily to be resisted, as the *Siege* (which was the cause) might have been raised, had there been a cordiall conjunction amongst those tied in policy to have kept him farther off. Thus by presuming more on the

strength

ſtrength of others, than there is cauſe for, moſt ſtates at laſt come to be diſtreſſed themſelves.

53. Their *Militia* is obſerved to be more daring in their *Chriſtian expeditions*, than thoſe undertaken againſt the *Perſian*; a people looked upon as too neer of kin to them in *Religion*, to warrant their *Murdering:* The ſame ſinne committed by Princes in groſſe, which private perſons doe by retaile, yet are puniſhed for it in this world, where the other are commended; though the people I deſcribe are too wiſe and affectionate towards the more ſubſtantiall part of their *Creed*, to proſecute thoſe of their own *profeſſion* to the fartheſt extent of their power, out of no more ſerious conſideration, then whether their *owne*, or the *Perſian Prieſts* delude the people with the greateſt ſhew of Truth, eſpecially both owning one and the ſame ſupreame Jugler, *Mahumet*. In this exceeding the prudence, if not the piety of *Chriſtians*, who make the *ſword* an Umpire in the ſmalleſt *differences* of *Opinion*; as if *ſucceſſe*, (found as great an aſſertor of the deſignes of theſe *Infidells*, as ever it hath

yet appeared in the favour of *Saints*) could be able to beare so great a stresse, as the weight of *Religion*, on which depends *Salvation*, not possibly to be brought about by the wicked Engines, dayly employed by Princes and men in power, to keep Victory fastened to their Tent-doors: It being the *Sufferings*, not the *Valour* of our Champion *CHRIST*, that can enroll us in the Heavenly *Host*: For though weda e not give *successe* to *Fortune*, any more than we are able to wrest her out of the hand of *God*; yet we finde by experience, that the wheeles of her Chariot are too weak, durty, and unsteddy, for *Truth* to triumph in, much lesse to be made captive to any others *Interpretation* than her own.

54 And though the paint of *Religion* is the ordinary Charme that raiseth the impetuous spirits of the people into stormes (by which they can sooner destroy others than save themselves; no reparations being to be procured but out of their own purses, who may far easier change their Masters, then find better) yet is *Blood* very unsuitable to the tast of true *Religion*, which participates more of the

the *Lamb*, than the *Lion*, having been ever readier to ſuffer wrong, then do it; till the *Prieſts* of old, as ſome think, firſt, for the Princes ſake, and after for their own, had, not only taught her the art of Jugling, but made her ſo tetchey by the corroding doctrines they inſtil'd into mens conſciences, upon the leaſt wordly occaſion, that brought their Honour or Profit under queſtion; farre repugnant to the firſt intent of *Religion*, which was to ſet a bar againſt ſtrife, and all other unnaturall deſires, men, without the awe of God, are apt to fall into; *Oppreſſion* being a generall miſchiefe, all are liable to, either in childhood or old age: This brought *Government* into uſe among ſuch as had felt the heavy experiment of *Anarchy*; to avoid which nothing contributes more than *Unity* in *Religion*, and where that cannot be compaſſed without much ſtrife, a *Liberty* to profeſſe what opinions men pleaſe, provided they be not repugnant to the generall welfare.

54. Wherefore *Mahumet* and his ſucceſſors, the better to gain the love of the people to *Religion*, tempered it with ſo

much moderation, as it rather *enclines to Hope* than *Feare*; wisely foreseeing, that nothing makes Subjects recoile more from their *Obedience*, than when they are loaded with a conceit that their *Governours* lead them in the way to *Hell*. This gives me occasion to think, that the *Goblings* armed by the *Catholicks* with so much terror, may possibly like the *Elephants* of *Pyrrhus* fall foule upon themselves, and bring their *Religion* into a low contempt, through an apparent detection, or a panick feare; not so likely to attach the Creed of the *Turks*, who have no painting to communicate any thing subject to gather so much drosse, as might enforme the people, they are but the effects of humane Art; nor *Priests* that dare be so bold as to put a greater *Excise* upon the *sinnes* of the people, or the price of *Heaven*, then stands with the conveniency or *Reason of State*. Thus are the *Turkish* Souldiers bred in no lesse *Obedience* than *Valour*; which are indeed the most saving Articles of their Beliefe; and though undervalued by, us that expect after death a lesse carnall Heaven; yet nothing causeth their *Unity* more,

or is a greater provocation to *augmentation of Empire*, then the *conformity* held by their *Priests* in the inculcation of their *Doctrine*, not perplexing their consciences with useleſſe terrours or hard queſtions; making no ſinnes ſo damnable as *Cowardice* and *Diſobedience* to the Commands of their Leaders; Eying *Chriſtians* with a high diſdaine, for caſting ſo many doubts, and buſhing the way to Heaven with *Purgatory* and other *Bugbeares*, which they place in the dark Entry, all are to paſſe between this world and the next: Though a blind man may ſee, it is not conſonant either to the beliefe of *Prince* or *Prieſt*: And theſe *Chimera's* are thought, by the *Mahumetans*, to intimidate *Souldiers*, by making them *Atheiſts*, and ſo in hope of no better; or *ſuperſtitious*, which keeps them ſtill in expectation of a worſe: This people being no leſſe hardened with *Diſcipline*, againſt the pleaſures of this, than aſſured by *Doctrine*, they ſhall enjoy the ſame and greater in the world to come: according to an ordinary ſaying among them: That if *Chriſtians* carried the ſame opnins concerning Heaven in their

Hearts, as are every where found in their Books, they would not be so afraid of *Death* the only way thither.

56. The *Turks* esteem *Fate* inexorable, which steeles their foreheads no lesse against the sharpest *danger*, than it smooths them towards the severest *Discipline*; yet in the midst of this belief, admit a necessary use of *Prayer*: As if importunity could be any way prevalent, where an unchangeable Resolution is acknowledged. It cannot be denyed, there is a wide room left for *giving Thanks*, and praising God, for disposing things so much to our advantage; but this perhaps cannot so seasonably be done till his will be revealed.

57. *Images*, reverenced in *Christian Churches*, bar the doores against both *Turk* and *Jew*; who count us worse than Canibals for *eating our God*, as they say we doe in the Eucharist: a scandall we owe to the *Court* of *Rome*.

58. Notwithstanding the incomparable *strength* of this *Lion*, you may find all his *Treaties* lined with the fur of a *Fox*, not tying himself up so straight by Promise or Obligation, but that he hath still

a muſe open to break through upon any great advantage: And in this he isnot a little beholding to the manner of his *Stile*, alwaies fuller of *hyperbolicall* Civilities than reall Aſſurances: yet rather than leave his *Repute* under the reproach of a *broken Faith*, he layes the fault upon the Miſtake of ſome Miniſter of State, by whoſe bloud he expungeth all ſtains of Diſhonour, not leaving them legible by any of his own, but ſuch as have learned to decypher the *Character of Princes*, who are but few in this well-compoſed Government, and thoſe comfortably employed in publick Service, or decently laid by, for prevention of miſcheif: It remaining paſt peradventure, That *ſuch as have Heads apt for Counſel, may, upon a Diſcontent, find Hearts as apt for Rebellion.*

59. Though this *Monarch*, if he ſtands right in his *Subjects eſteem*, is not very *ſolicitous* after *Repute* from *Strangers*; yet, by reaſon of his vaſt Power, he is not often neceſſitated to tread ſuch *baſe paths*, as our *weaker Princes* are forced to walke in, that have for the moſt part nothing but *Shifts* to ſubſiſt by; which like *Mines* under the walles of Townes, bring more

more prejudice than gaine, if they come to be discovered by the contrary party; from which it is not easie to conceale them, if once they are flown out of the bosome that hatched them: such folly and falshood is bound up in the hearts of *Embassadors*. Besides the frequent *Perjury* of *Princes* hath so vilified the price of *Oathes*, as they serve for little more than *Ceremony* of State, and to bait traps for their poor Subjects and other weake and ill-advised Strangers. Which may give an occasion for an Enquiry, that since all men cannot agree, Whether a *Toleration of their severall Religions* may not be with more Charity admitted, then every one persecuted, as we find they are in one place or other? And because *one God* is universally owned, all Protestations should be taken under that single Name, without any other addition; many bearing an awfull reverence to *That*, who look upon the rest as products of *Policy*, and therefore leave room for such mental reservations as the Priests, no lesse then the Grandees have too long abused the world withall. And till a reverence, still begun at the Head, be reall,

or

or unapprehensibly feigned, it is folly to expect performance of *Oaths* in the Members. This arraignes all Princes of madnesse, that rest secure upon the *Fidelity* of their *Subjects*, after they have forfeited their own by illegall and exorbitant *Taxes*. Nor is *Perjury* found so frequently amongst those esteemed *Infidels*, as our *dry Professors*, that have *Religion* still in their mouths, and the *Bible* in their Eye; Not that a practice of *holy Duties* can possibly be more the reason of *Falshood* in the one, than *Profanesse*, of *Truth* in the other: But having made themselves more familiar with the Mercy, than Justice of God, and presuming upon the certainty of their own *Salvation*, and *Damnation* of others, for which they have no better warrant than the voice of a Spirit, conjured up only in their Imaginations; the more to be suspected, because it befriends no other intereſt but their own, they think to make God amends some other way; whereas a poore *Sinner*, that hath once been hunted home with the fierce conflicts of a wearied *Conscience* (sharper far than the *Humiliations*, these outward *Professors* proportion to themselves (dares not

not venture on so deare an Impiety, out of hope to digest it the next *Fast*. And if I am not much mistaken, the *Turks* beare a more awfull reverence to *Oathes*, than *Christians*; or are they found to allay it with the poysonous mixture of *Æquivocation*, though the *Jewes* that live among them are more indifferent what they attest. A sad thing, that such as were formerly, and those that are now the people of God, should exceed *Infidels* in so foule and unsociable an Impiety. Which that they may the better prevent; Though the bare *attestation* of a *Mussleman*, or *Turkish Believer* is often taken for an authentick Proofe against a *Stranger*; Yet in their ordinary *Trialls* between one another, they proceed with more Caution, so as not to rely upon *Oaths* themselves; but from private *Examinations*, and *Quæstionibus* so unexpected and artificially put, as no premeditated *Combination* can evade, they extract grounds for Sentence: By which, malice is defeated, & perjury prevented, frequent amongst us, where the Lives and Estates of conscientious people are without remedy exposed to their mercy, who scruple not the calling God to

the

the witneſſe of a Lie. Nor can there be imagined any better way how to avoid this miſchief, or yeild a ſincere and faithfull Obedience to the Precept of our *Saviour*, *Sweare not at all*, &c. (which the corrupt *gloſſes* of *Expoſitors* labour much, though all in vain, to elude) then, if, inſtead of that ſlight and irreverent manner of *Swearing*, or rather proſtituting the Word of God to the *kiſſe* of impure lips, according to the looſe cuſtome of all our *Courts* of *Judicature*, the Judges themſelves, or thoſe appointed for that purpoſe, would take the paines, by the touch-ſtone of a diligent ſcrutiny, and ſcrupulous examination of Witneſſes apart, to diſtinguiſh the pure and golden *Truth*, from the baſer Alchimy of the moſt cunningly-forged Falſhood.

60. They preferre *Chriſtianity* ſo farre, as *no Jew can turne Turk till he hath been Chriſtened*: The vulgar thinking God beſt pleaſed with ſuch a *gradation*, though Authority interjected this *Ceremony* to fence them againſt a too great concourſe of this *ſubtill people*, who in relation to *Circumciſion*, are apter to embrace their Religion then ours; & doe by their Con-

verſion

version lessen the *profit* arising from them as *Jewes*. Now least the Impiety of casting blocks in the way of *Proselytes* should seem to relate only to this so much abominated Nation, I desire to be informed, if there be not a Law in force here, as the *Jewes* being in *England*, as there is still in some other Nations, *That such of them as turned Christians, should loose all, or the greatest part of what they had.* For which this pious reason was given, That many remained *Jewes* still in their hearts, notwithstanding an outward profession: Thus a greater *Hypocrisie* cheated the lesse.

61. I finde them, though constant to their own, yet so indulgent to the opinions of *Strangers*, as to afford such a safe passe among them: which, besides the profit it brings to Commerce, keeps them in so *moderate* a temper, as the *plague of Hypocrisie* (which like an *Iron-mole*, staines, and in a short time eats out the purity of *Religion*, by acting a sublimer impiety than the nature of man unsuborned through Ambition or Covetousnesse, is able to make reall, longer

than

than a Fanatick heat inſpires it) hath not yet there broke out farther than among ſome few particulars; though by ſuch the Cockatrice of *Civill Warre* is ordinarily diſcloſed in the Boſomes of *Chriſtians*, concluding all damned which reſt not in their Expoſitions and Cuſtomes, how ridiculous ſoever: Not conſidering the miſchiefe they doe, that remove old uncertain *Errors*, before they have found as certaine *Truths* to put in their roome. The ſame may be ſaid of reputed inconveniences, ſuch as is their conniving at Courteſans (chiefely done to prevent *Adultery*, *Sodomy*, and *Bſtiality*; ſinnes infeſting theſe hot Countrys therefore) poſsibly leſſe abominable than ſome Divines make it. This ſort of *Cattell* being as ancient as the Patriarch *Judah*: Neither did divers others, looked upon as *men after Gods own heart*, bluſh to keep droves of them: Nay, if ſome be not foulely out in their Expoſitions, they are reckoned to *David* in the Bill of *Gods Bleſſings*: And he that doth by this publique ſin, as ſome have done by *Religion*, exchange it for a *worſe* (though perhaps more ſolitary) I pray what hath the

the Nation left to brag of? Faults of greater privacy, though leſſe naturall, increaſing *Hypocrites* more than *Saints*. And if our Bleſſed *Saviour* ſhould now ſpeak to the Conſciences of men, as he did to the Jewes, *He that is without ſin, &c.* I believe *Fornication* would ſcape, whatever became of *Adultery*. To conclude this point, it is ſo much the greater boldneſſe, to adde to, than diminiſh from the ſeverity of God, as we ſtand more in need of his Mercy than Juſtice.

62. The groſs of their *Revenue* is employed in ſecuring the *Empire* at *home*, or fetching *Victory* from *abroad*: The *Grand Segnior* being only luxurious in *Women*, and *domeſtick pleaſures*; which like *Fontanels* in the body, may poſſibly evaporate worſe humours than they foment: Though contrary to the better inculcated, than practiſed Doctrine of our *Theologues*, eſpecially thoſe of the Church of *Rome*; *Catholick Kings* rather conniving at this miſchiefe, than the perpetuall inconveniences reſulting from a *married Clergie*, who by giving their *Children* better *breeding* than *Eſtates*, are the cauſe they do not ſeldome fall into *exorbitances*.

63. Repute

63. REpute hath ſwell'd the *Sultan's power* to ſuch a vaſt Monſtroſity, and ſo farre dazled the eyes of *Chriſtian Princes*, weakned by *diviſions in Religion*, that they dare not look upon him without a Preſent; Neither is the *Perſian* much bolder, which gives him the advantage, no leſſe than honour to be ſtill on the *offenſive*: And in this the generoſity he uſeth, to divulge the *Prince*, if not the *place* he meaneth next to attacque, turns more to his advantage, than may appeare to every eye; other Nations reſting ſo ſecure upon this, as they doe not provide, if at all, a defence proportionable to the danger; which if once made ready, could not be laid out to a more probable advantage for themſelves and *Chriſtendome*, than in ſtopping the progreſſe of this *Polyphæmus*, who is likely, if not prevented by ſome civill Rupture, to devoure all the *Italian Principalities*, if once he raviſh the *Venetian*, whoſe hands have been weakened by the longeſt Warre that ever any ſingle State maintained againſt this Monſter, who for want of aſſiſtance, cannot

not choose but shortly yeild up *Candy* to his Lust: And then our *drowsy Princes*, who were no more affected with her Cries, than wakened by the noise of her Canon, and the voice of Prudence daily roaring in their eares, shall lament their Errour, and curse themselves, and the Counsell that moved them to observe this unnaturall *Neutrality*, and to preferre a little pleasure they take in gratifying the envy they have ever borne to this more magnificent Republick (tyed by all reason to maintain the smaller States of *Italy* (in being) before the assuring of their feares by a cordiall combining against this common enemy, of whose mercy they can have no hope; Nothing being more suitable to his former procedure, or future security, than utterly to eradicate them, long looked upon by him as the only obstructers of his farther progresse into *Christendome*; Though apparently known, that what the *Venetians* doe, is rather by the strength of their *Heads*, than *Hands*, having not yet made themselves very famous for Valour, participating not so much

muck of the *Lion*, as *Fox*, with whose skin moſt of their Atchievements are found to be lined; being themſelves, if fooles in any thing, in the exceſſive awe they ſtand of Death, the cauſe they employ *Strangers*. Neither is it a leſſe wonder, that *France*, *Spaine*, and other potent Nations, doe daily paſſe by greater *affronts* received from the *Ottoman Empire*, without the leaſt notice taken, then they are obſerved to fight for among themſelves; as if nothing could be diſhonourable or unſafe, but what ariſeth from the injuries of men of the *ſame Religion*; an argument of as great Imprudence, as Impiety, eſpecially reſulting from the Omiſſion, if not Commiſſion of the *Court* of *Rome*: For did the *Jeſuites* and other active *Prieſts* turne the tide of their *Policy* (which hath already immerged *Europe* in *bloud*) towards the *Turks*, they might ſoon be overflown by as great a deluge of *Schiſmes*, as we are now plunged in: But the feare of loſing the *Bird in hand*, makes the Pope unwilling to imploy his Engines for the taking of this:

Not

Not considering that the *Mahumetan profession* is grown up to as high an earthly *Felicity*, *Universality*, and *Consent*, as the *Papacy*; Neither do they want as great an *Antiquity* for some of their *Tenets*, the which if they once come to be washed over by the varnish of *Learning*, the *Musty* may, assisted by his Master's force, turne his *Holinesse* out of *Rome*, as that *Bishop* did the *Emperours*; and so avenge *Europe* and *Asia* both, for the rent the subtill *Priests* made between the *East* and the *West Churches*, for no more religious respect, than to beautifie their own habit and increase their Power.

And if the Virgin-City of *Venice* comes to be wholly prostituted to the *lust* of this *Monster*, who hath already intangled his *Sword* in one of her strongest *Locks*, it is possible the *Catholick King* shall not be able long to injoy those *Concubinary Principalities*, made his by no juster Contract, than the *Procuration* of his Chaplain, the *Pope*, his own Subtilty, and the impertinent Quarrels of lesse advised Neighbours: But to give the *Pope* his due (looked upon by the dazled eyes

of

of our Zelots, for a more terrible Devil than it may be he is, were he confined within a narrower Circle, in relation to temporall power) *Christian Princes* are apt to take so much advantage from the harping irons, *Luther*, *Calvin*, and other Divines (perhaps better skill'd in subverting *Errors*, than reconciling of *Truth*) have fastned in the sides of this Ecclesiastical *Leviathan*, not to be kept floating in a narrower Sea, than that of *Rome*, (formerly as Magisteriall in things *temporall*, as now she remaines in *spirituals*, which prudence might manage to as universall a tranquility, as appeared in the dayes of *Augustus*) that he hath no leisure to look abroad, for feare the same Spirit that troubled the waters in *Germany*, should dry up those in *Italy*, *&c.* It being in the power of every Prince to cut the banks of the Church, which in *France* is the feare of *Schisme*, and in the *Catholick King*'s Dominions, the *Inquisition*. Yet in case his Holinesse should make it a cordiall endeavour to foment a League against the *Turk*, *France* and *Spaine* would fall out who should head it, and endeavour

vour to spoile the others Subjects in the meane time: Such incomparable *Charity* resides among Christian Princes, that value *Religion* no higher than the profit it brings: so as the *Roman Bishop*, with all his Emissaries, have full imployment by adding and taking away, to keep the scales even between these two tottering Princes, and to heighten their spirits against *England*, and other Nations at enmity with *Rome*; least we should have a *Great Turk* of our own, that is, an *Universal Monarch*, under whose absolute power the *Pope* and all other *Christian Princes* could expect no higher places than those of Vassals. And though a *Combination* were feasible, small advantage would accrue; since every considerable *confederate* must have a *Generall* of their own; from whence would proceed more *Cry* than *Wooll*, by perplexing Counsels with contrary commands: Because, if it were probable Kings should so far forget their *Honour*, as to lay down all disputes about precedence, yet their particular *Interest* could not but remember them, that the strength designed against the *Turke*, might

might, after successe, recoile upon themselves: not without a president in Story: and therefore not likely to employ any other in *Chiefe*, but their own Subjects. And what contrary affections, ends, and endeavours are covered under a Force patched up of so many Nations, is manifest in the *Maritime* battell of *Lepanto*: where, though the desire of all might be to ecclips the *Ottoman* Moon; yet it was in many so faint, as they could not endure it should be removed quite out of its Sphere, or lose the Interest it doth exercise within the *Christian Pale* (which by a through persecution of that *naval victory*, might easily have been brought about) out of feare, the *greater Princes*, by that secured, should after have made it their endeavour to devour the *lesse*: And this (with some Unbrages of *Jealousies* the *Catholick King* had of his Brother *Don John* of *Austria*) made the *Confederates* return without doing more than shew the *Grand Segnior* wherein he was defective, and by this chastizing to make him mend the fault he had committed in being no better provided of *Commanders* and *Provisions for Sea*, which he

hath since repaired at our cost, by maintaining an *Arsenall* in *Algeers*, of which the King of *Spain* denyed his Brother to be *Governour*; so jealous are *Christians* one of the other, that they have more confidence in *Turks*, than those of their own Religion: yet, to speak Gods troth, whosoever shall command an Army against this Epidemicall Enemy, with such successe as *Don John* had, will be owner of too popular an Honour, to be less than superlative whereever he comes; and therefore liable, like him, to receive a *Fig* out of the venemous hand of *Jealousie*. Which warrants me to think, the fittest for such an imployment as the heading an Army raised by a League, is the *Pope*, who lying within gun-shot himselfe, is the most likely to take the truest aime at the finishing of the work: But this the *Lutherans* and *Protestants* would oppose, no lesse than the Princes of *Italy*, who cannot but feare, that the power of the *Ottoman Family* being sufficiently moderated, he could have no better employment for the Army, than to face them with it, looked upon perhaps in his esteem, as greater enemies:

Yet

Yet if there were an *unity in Religion*, and a totall abatement of his *Holineſſe* pretences to any *ſecular power*, farther than the extent of *Peters Patrimony*, it might with more probability be brought about, than any temporall Prince is able to give caution for: And thus *Policy* might not onely make uſe of him, in oppoſing the *Turk*, but in reconciling ſuch *Kings*, as when they are weary of their inconſiderat *Quarrels*, know no other way to bring about peace, than by the mediation of the Biſhop of *Rome*. But as things now ſtand, Experience hath taught us how vain a Compoſition of Force is, in the attempt of moderating the *Ottoman Grandure*: Nor is any Prince yet in a capacity to undertake him alone; The *Emperour* being ſhackled by the links of contrary Opinions, and now utterly diſabled ſince the *Swedes* Incurſion: I confeſſe, the *Catholick King*, upon whoſe skirts he ſits, were the moſt likely to get ground upon the *Turks* Dominions, did not the *French* perplex him with the feare of loſing his own: Between which Nations there can be no reconciliation, ſo long as the *Pope's* greatneſſe is ſup-

ported by Division; An *Universall Monarchy* in *Europe* being more against the graine of the Court of *Rome*, than it yet apprehends danger from that in *Asia*; so as it is no improbable Paradox to maintain, *That the Turk by accident supports his Holinesse*: And if the *Pope* and *Inquisition* were put down, *Atheisme* would break in like a Torrent; or, which is worse, *Religion* would be divided into such destructive, bloudy, and hypocriticall streames, as her name would be quite lost in the dilatation, or render her professors as odious as ever they were to the *Heathen Emperours*: especially since she hath in all places, and under every profession, learned of Ambition to lay out the price of her Salvation in a *field of blood*, without respect had to *Covenants*, *Oathes*, *Allegéance*, or the most naturall and obliging Relations; therefore formidable to *Kings*, whose single and open bosomes render them a fair mark, not only to the forked Tongues, but the venomous-tempered Steel of an exasperated Zeale; so, not likely to be entertained in any place, but where her own Sword shall be able to bid her welcome: The

Beauty

Beauty of Holineſſe, with which ſhe was wont to allure *Proſelytes*, being now ſhrivel'd into uglineſſe, by her frequent application of the ſublimated paint of Hyporiſy; ſo generally obſerved among *Chriſtians*, as neither the *Turk*, or any other *Mahumetan* Nation can, in Prudence, if in Piety, barter their Faith for ours; The drought of whoſe Charity hath obſtructed the means of Converſion in relation to all Forraigners not formerly ingaged by Birth and Education: ſo as no probability reſides in any endeavour can be uſed to tempt the *Turkes* from *Mahumet*, unleſſe (as I hinted before) ſome *Jeſuite* were able to perſonate his Ghoſt, and proclaime himſelfe riſen, according to their Prophet's long-delay'd promiſe: for ſuch an one might poſſibly prevaile ſo far upon the Rabble, as to make them fall foule among themſelves: *A breach in Religion* being found by experience the readieſt way to let in that Ocean of Calamities, we ſee overflows the Kingdoms of the Earth.

Another Expedient may lye in ſupporting ſuch *Cedars of State*, as are marked out for ruine by the Feares or Fury of the

Prince; and if possible, to give *shelter* to some of the younger *Royall Branches*, who are sure upon their Father's death to be sacrificed to the security of the elder; and may, as occasion serves, facilitate a *Rebellion*, by landing an Army able to make good the Field, whilst the Snowball is gathering: A project most convenient for the Wisedome and Situation of *Venice*, were she owner of the Power and extent of Territory belonging to old *Rome*, whose Heire she deserves best to be, since she alone retaines more of her Freedome than all the known world besides is able to produce: Her *Government* being built on such rationall, if not infallible *Maximes*, as might bear the weight of a far greater frame, if *Italy* were wise enough to see it; who need not be concubinary to so many wanton desires of Strangers, would all her small and newhatched *Governments* shelter themselves under her wings, who are known to spend more severally in hiring of Peace from the *Turk*, *Spaniard*, *Pope*, *&c.* than wisely laid out in an intire summe, would purchase the power to command it.

From whence may be concluded, If the

the *Grand Segnior* doe not fall through his own weight, he may live to see *Europe* under as great a thraldome in every relation to body and soul, as *Turkey*, unlesse he be cordially opposed at his own door: *Tyrants*, like Dogs, having their fierceneſſe, rather whetted than rebated by a defensive opposition: whereas he that breaks resolutely in upon them, makes them not seldome take their heels: All *changes* in such an extremity being looked upon with delight and affection at home, by those that abroad would die to extend the same Government over others: *Oppression* being so odious to Subiects, as all will upon any probable advantage promote its destruction to the very persons that share in their desires with the *Monarch*, wanting the power more than the will to perpetrate the like degree of injustice themselves.

64. The *Turk* deduceth this Doctrine out of the perfidiousneſſe of the *Christian* Practice, *That it is to little purpose* (by reason of the contrary pretences of Princes) *to make leagues Offensive and Defensive*, which he hath seldome done; yet considers his *Neighbours dangers* as his

own, before delay hath rendred them incurable; Apparent in the large offers he made to *Venice*, whilst she lay under the interdict of *Paul* the fifth; and might, if her Subjects had not been wiser, through civill divisions have lapsed into the hands of *Spaine*, as divers Nations lesse prudent have done, by their own folly and a stupid patience of their neighbours, whose ordinary custome is to forbeare giving assistance, till it is rendered unseasonable; and that they are not able to redeem them by all their endeavours, much lesse by a too late repentance; as in the case of *Navarr*, neglected by the Crown of *France*; and Dutchy of *Lorraine*, by that of *Spaine*: Any Augmentation to one of these Kingdomes being an equall Diminution from the other; the consideration of which keeps *Geneva* in being. And the averseneſſe the *Turk* hath towards any strict *Confederation* with Forraigners, gives him not onely the liberty to preserve his friends, but to take any advantage to inlarge himselfe: His Subjects not having such vast Estates abroad, as might deterre him from taking a revenge in case of injury, for fear

of

of an *Embargement*: whereas Christians have Ware-houses in *Constantinople* full of wealth, and to such a value, as give this Infidel caution for his using us at his pleasure without danger: Nor have we more than the *Emperours* bare *word* to secure our *Trade*, which it is likely you may tell me, he observes as religiously as other Princes.

Neither is he prodigal in *Embassadors*: for, keeping still the offensive end of the Staffe, he is often sued to, but seldom sends a wooing for *Peace*; which obtained is found of no longer life than it suits with the occasions and counsels of both parties: Therefore *Confederations*, *Truces*, and *Leagues*, signifie nothing but danger to the weaker side, who by these are not seldom tempted to neglect the guard that cannot in prudence be lessened upon this score; it being an infallible certainty, that nothing moves another, but Profit, Honour, or Nature; The last of which doth lesse concerne the *Grand Segnior*, because he seeks not to *match* his *Daughters* out of his own Territories, esteeming no blood Royall, but what runs in his own veines, and his that is to succeed him: Neither

is he lycorish after the choice of the *Issue of Kings* for his *own Bed*, finding the same content in the embraces of a *Subject* or a *Slave*, that a more bewitched Imagination apprehends in those of a *Princesse*: Nor doth his modesty abuse him, but acquits him from the danger of having a *Spie in his Bosome*, or a cocquall in his Counsells; giving him leave to put to death or exchange his *Wives* upon occasion, without the feare of any other frown but that of *Heaven*; amongst whose joyes (according to his Creed) is *Change of Women, and all carnall Delights.*

And by the division he makes of his Love among *many Wives*, he renders the Government lesse-factious; the *Distaffe* having been found no friend to the *Scepter*, opening often a back door to *Innovation*; apparent in *Christians*, who *Marrying* the daughters of more potent Princes than themselves, are so farre over-awed by them, as to make them partners in their most secret designes, else they are able to distresse them through the strength of their own friends. Thus a *Prince* comes to have an *Enemy in his bo-*

some,

ſome, and ſuch an one as he dares not queſtion, for feare of a ſhower at home and a ſtorme from abroad. So as if all the benefit Story can record to have (at leaſt of late) accrued to *Kings* from the great *Allyes* of their *Wives*, were put together, you ſhall find it inconſiderable, computed with the loſſe, eſpecially if their *Religion* differs; for then ſhe looking upon him as out of the reach of Gods mercy, can think nothing an injury to his perſon, or a loſſe to his eſtate, if her *ghoſtly fathers* are pleaſed to encourage her; Conſiderations without bottome in this *conformity* in *Profeſſion*, and *parity* in *Subjection*; where the birth of the *firſt Son* gives the title of *Sultana* to a ſlave, the higheſt honour or employment a woman can be borne to: and what might abundantly content them alſo in *Europe*, where they are made the *Arbitrators of the Royall Line*.

65. The *Emperour* appeares not in *Publick*, but on *Horſeback*, where all *Deformityes*, if he owes any, are beſt concealed; And is then in ſuch *Splendor*: as the former-ingaged opinion of the multitude renders him more than Humane

whereas

whereas our lesse Majestick *Princes* become so cheap by their daily figging up and down the streets after their pleasures unattended, whilst this graver *Monarch* enjoyes them all under his own roofe: where none are suffered to enter, but those that are *dumb* from their Births, or are rendered so through feare or use; no action or word breathed out of the *Seraglio*, to the Emperours disadvantage, but proves mortall to the divulger: Not possible to be observed among *Christians*, whose *Meales*, like *Pupperplayes*, are made the object of all eyes, and their lightest *Discourses* (apt then to break out) the scorn of Strangers, that blow them over the four corners of the earth, with no small addition; whilst their own Subjects calculate a crooked nature from the *Deformities* of their *Bodies*, evil *Gestures*, or a too luxurious taking in of their *Wine* or *Meat*: It not being easie to shew a man at a greater disadvantage, than whilst he is taking his *Repast*, the most certaine *Symbol of Mortality* This altogether casts no lesse cloud over their *Majesty*, than their *Cheats* and *Perjuries*, to procure Money, are observed

ved to doe upon their *Probity*: which raiſeth ſuch a damp of *Contempt* about the *Throne*, as the Obedience they own, proceeds rather from a dread of their preſent power, than any voluntary or naturall affection their Subjects bear to them or their vertues; of which they have ſo low eſteem, as they think them eaſy to be matched, if not by themſelves, by a number their Commerce and Experience hath coped withall.

66. In *Progreſſe* his *Train* is not inferiour to an *Army*, in which he receives all graciouſly that come to ſee him: And by this *Strength* and *Affability* the remoteſt parts are not only wooed to *Obedience*, but terrified from *Inſurrections*; calculating by the Power attending him in his Pleaſures, the terribleneſſe of a Force that ſhould be raiſed in his Fury: Notwithſtanding at this time nothing appears about him but *Love* in his words, and *Charity* in his actions; For where he ſees the earth covered with *Poore*, he caſts his Mony, which, like water put into a Pump, gives him the opportunity ſafely to drein the more affluent *Rich*. This makes the Generality look upon him as a God, that may

may give way to Punishment, never to Passion.

67. He owns not in his *Royall Person* any ingratefull *Imposition*, but appeares ever before his people like the Sun; carrying in his looks no less Serenity than Splendour in all about him; and answers any clamours of *Joy* with as cordiall *Blessings* and Thanks: knowing it as uncomely for a *Prince* in publick to seem *angry*, as *poor*; That threatning no lesse danger to the *Lives*, than This doth presage incroachment upon the *Fortunes* of all that come to see him. And though none can more freely command what belongs to his Subjects, he discovers no will to employ any *Arbitrary power* in his *own person*, how well so ever it suits with his Nature or Occasions; Handling all *Grievances* to his people by the mediation of others, whom upon emergency he delivers up to their Fury. Neither doth this lessen the number of these *Harpies*, any more than it doth *Conjurers*, to hear their Predecessors were torne in pieces by the command of those they had formerly nourished with their Blood. Thus by such *amiable gestures*, and the high price

he

he ſeems in publick to ſet upon the *Nations content*, ſo great a *Love* is kindled in the hearts of his Subjects, that all the evills that fall upon them are removed from the principall cauſe, and attributed to ſuch as are only inſtrumentall in their promotion. A practice waved by our leſſe adviſed *Monarchs*, who ſit in *Parliament*, as *Jupiter* is painted, with *Thunder* in their hands, as if they had already the will and power, and wanted nothing but their peoples conſent to make them miſerable; not affording a gratefull conceſſion, but by the high and rugged way of *Exchange*; nor good words, but to uſher in a more chargeable Requeſt; ſcorning to reckon with the Subject, & make even for their *Minions* and Officers Faults, till they are ſo far run in the account of Prejudice, that all Love and Obedience is quite forfeited, and the Crown expoſed to the purchaſe of any that hath the ſubtilty and power to buy it.

68. For to obviate the like miſcarriage, the *Turk* gives often a favourable hearing to ſuch as *complain* of the *Grandees*, not ſeldome gratifying them with the Heads of their *Oppreſſors*: By which he doth

doth not only ſtop the mouths of his people with a ſhew of Piety and Juſtice, but fills his *Exchecquer* with the reall Coin he finds about thoſe thus complained of: Yet if he takes the party's *Life* to be more conſiderable to his affaires than his *Death*, he ſatisfies the publick diſcontent, by tranſlating the Offender to ſome *remoter employment*, where, being farther from the *Court*, ſeverity may be more neceſſary, at leaſt not ſo diſhonourable, as when it appeares at the foot of his Chair: Thinking it not ſafe, to gall the many-headed Monſter twice in a *Place*, with one and the ſame *Engine*. And by this even and conſtant procedure, an uninterrupted *Proſperity* hath been intailed to this *Empire*, that the voice of *Liberty* continues ſtill ſuch a ſtranger in their ſtreets, as if their Language were barren of a word to expreſſe it. Thus by claiming nothing, he enjoyes all, and, by defending none of his bad Inſtruments, hath been ſecure himſelf, till theſe latter yeares, in which ſome Conſtellation ſeems to hover over the World, inclining all Nations to *Rebellion*. This imboldens me to aſſert it as a Maxime

xime, That *Princes contract more hatred from the injustice and oppressions of their Favourites, than their own:* A farre lesse *Revenue*, than doth legally depend on a *Crown*, being able to correspond for a greater summe, than the follies of a single person can possibly consume, unlesse attached by the bottomlesse humour of *Play*, which a prudent Prince cannot choose but look upon as farre below the dignity of his person; it being impossible for him either to win or lose, but at the prejudice of his *Courtiers or Subjects.*

69. Here is no *medium* between the *Anger* of the *Sultan* & Death: A great man flea'd out of Office, being rarely or never permitted to mingle among the people, who are easily suborned out of pitty, to believe such persecuted for their sakes: Therefore *Discontent* is not suffered to live; the *Power* being as severely punished, as the *Will* to do Mischief: This makes the *Grandees* to carry their bodies swimming between *Popularity*, and an *Epidemicall Dislike*: since though the first be the most certain messenger of Death, yet the latter doth not seldom bring the same errand; For, such as by *Taxes* or *perverting* of

Justice

Justice (though by the *Emperors* command) are found abusers of the people, die some cruell death, to give the more publick satisfaction; whereas those who fall under his *Jealousie*, in relation to his particular safety, leave the world by a lesse painfull *Exit*; which may breed an opinion in the Multitude, That their Prince is only cruell on their behalf, and at the worst but severe in his own. Here the vanity of *Court Minions* is manifest, who like Beasts for *Sacrifice*, are crowned and honoured, till their *Masters* sinnes require their blood to set him right in the opinion of the people; in the fury of whom lies all the *Hell*, the Religion of most Princes teacheth them to apprehend.

70. THe *Priests* screw up to the height of *Miracles* all *unusuall Contingencies*, which make not a few in such a Mass of Events; neither is their Report wanting to augment them: And these are still hanged before the eyes of the People, either to terrify or allure them, as it suits with the present humour of State. And thus the *Popish Legend* came to be

gilded

gilded by so many miraculous effects of *Saints*, and their *Reliques*, which, after all contradiction was buried, appear'd to the world under no lesse then a cloud of witnesses: Being capable of no stronger confutation, than what they receive from a present incapacity of doing the like. Now if the *Turks* have been too numerous in their election, or hyperbolical in the predication of these *pious*, or rather usefull *deceits*, the error is committed after the example of the Court of *Rome*, the most exact Copy for Policy the world affords. Nor is there place left for blame in relation to either, since what was obtruded upon the *Catholicks* heretofore, suited as well the apprehensions of those times, as these do now the *Turks*: Therefore the Imprudence lies not in the folly of the *Miracles*, but theirs, who suffered such a criticall *Learning* to blaze out, as pretends matter of *Reproof* in all things extant: *Knowledg* being as great an enemy to our present felicity, as it was to that in *Paradise*: So as *Rome* is forced at this day to let *Miracles* fall, out of fear to finde her self detected by the now-supernumerary issue of tatling *Apollo*, which,

out

out of too much *Wit*, or too little *Faith*, make an over-strict scrutiny into their Truth; hanging like *Locusts*, and croaking like *Frogs*, about all things that seem *green* or *rotten* in the *Church*: Nor will they fall off, till their mouths be stopped by *Preferment*, or their heads satisfied with *Reason*: Yet had she but enough of the first, it might suffice to purchase a competent proportion of the latter, or at worst so much *Sophistry* as might serve her turn: But the ancient *Piety* being blended in *Luxury*, & her *Revenue* in a great proportion swallowed up by the *covetousnesse* of *Princes*; the *Pope* & *Clergie* hold the Remainder by no better Tenure than by rendering themselves necessary to the ambition of Monarchs; especially that of *Spaine*; *Republiques* being naturally not so auspicious to the *Priesthood*. Nevertheless, lest the *Catholick King* should attain to an absolute power in *Christendome*, under which *his Holinesse* would be totally ecclipsed, his principall endeavour has been to foment a difference still between him and *France*, and so by their banding to keep himself up in play; *Shifts* the *Church* was never put

put to, during the Golden Age of Ignorance, when *Learning* and all Books lay at her mercy; so as shee had power to cut them shorter, or extend their sence as best fitted the occasion: The *Laity* being so perplexed between the hope of *Heaven*, and feare of *Hell*, that the dark entry of *Death* gave the *Priests* as opportune a way to become their Executors, as the bloody night of the *Passeover* did the *Jewes* to rob the *Egyptians*. But now in the absence of the ancient *Piety* and *Ignorance*, the Church of *Rome* hath no better way to keep Reason from breaking in upon her (who like a Woolfe hath, this last Century, lain gnawing at the *Pope's* Honour and Profit) than by sacrificing more men yeerly to the fury of the *Inquisition*, than *Solomon* did Beasts at the dedication of the *Temple*: An Impiety not chargable upon the *Turk*, who kills none for the profession of any *Religion*, though never so contrary to his own; leaving God to avenge his Truth, which no question he would not be long in doing, were he so angry with the opposite Tenents, as they in their furious Sermons are pleased to represent him.

71. The Turk finding *Printing* and *Learning* the chief fomentors of *Division* in *Christendome*, hath hitherto kept them out of his Territories. Yet, whilst we tire out our best time in tugging at the hard Text of a dry Book, or the study of strange *Languages* (which are but the Bindings of Learning, and do often cover lesse Knowledge, than may be had in our own Ideom) they come more adapted into *State-employments*, and sooner furnished with clearer Reason, drawn from the quicker Fountains of lesse-erring *Experience*; And were ever yet found to be out-reached in Prudence, by the most politick and *learned* Princes in *Europe*. Nor can any think this strange, that considers what the custome of *Universities* requires at the hands of Students, *viz.* knowledge in the *Arts* so called, and a nimble mouthing of canting Termes, coyned by themselves, and so current in the commerce of no larger Understandings than their own, & such as are sworn to the same Principles: The vanity of which is in nothing more apparent than in this, that they can easier start ten Errors, than kill one, as is manifest in the

differences between us and *Rome*, concerning which, though in right reason we do, and cannot but agree in many things, yet the heat and rancour of the dispute is no whit abated.

72. All *Sciences* any wayes resembling those we call *Liberall*, are taught no where but in the *Seraglio*, where the *Grand Segnior* hath the power to increase or diminish the number of their *Professors*, according as it suits his occasions. *Able men* resembling wanton Boyes, that, rather than be unemployed, will do mischief; None attaining to any perfection but what he hath *use* for: *Idle Valour* being the tool, as Learning & Knowledge are the operators of all Civil Dissentions. A course quite contrary to the ill husbandry of *Europe*, or more particularly *England*, in whose Body *Mercury* and *Sulphur* exceed Employment, which should be the *Salt* to fix the rest, and keep them from puttefaction: For want of which her *Schooles* do man out as many Enemies as Friends, legible in the vast volumes of *Controversies* that lie vendible on every Stall. This resulteth from the multitude of *Grammer-Schooles* (in the building

building of which appears more Zeal than Knowledge) where all come that are but able to bring a *Beg* and a *Bottle*, no unfit Emblem of the future poverty of their Trade; In which, like a *Lottery*, ten take their chance in *Beggery*, for one that meets with a *Prize*; and that, when it comes, is scarse worth the labour, cost, & time required in making the capable: No mens fortunes being confined in so narrow a Circle, nor built upon such shaking Foundations, as those of *Scholars*: The fire already kindled in Church and State, by their clashing in Opinions, having melted the Basons and larger Plate, our Ancestors set up for the incouragement of *Learning*, which, like a Viper, doth now endeavour to eat out the bowels of her Mother. For the Parents of *Schoolboyes* not being able to advance them higher, all the rest is left but *Reading* and *Writing*, and they rendered by seven or eight yeares lazy living, uncapable of the labour belonging to the more profitable *Plough*, and so become *Seiving men*, and *Lawyers*, and *Justices Clerks*; by the vertue of which profession they turne cunning

cunning Knaves, and cozen their Country: A charge circumcised in *Turkey*, by mixing the expensive Callings of *Law* and *Divinity* together, by which the *Priests* are so fully employed, as no leisure is given to study *Innovation* in either profession, and consequently dries up the Fountaines of *Rebellion*. Which foreseen by the prudent eye of the divine Legislator, *Moses*, directed him to the uniting of the *sacred* Rites, and *civill Sanctions* into one *Body*, making the Law of the Land a piece of Gods Law, and the Justice of the Magistrate, Religion: which stamps no lesse authority upon the Law, then it procures Reverence to the Judges, and promiseth to the Government, where it is entertained, *Length of dayes* and Safety on the one hand, with *Riches and Honour* on the other. Which course affords also such *Expedition* as gives one side, at least, cause to applaud Justice; whereas here the better'd party is left so little to boast of, that he returnes home as ill satisfyed, as he which had Sentence pronounced against him.

73. Neither are these *Delayes* any whit remedyed by the ill-Husbandry of

breeding so many to the *long Robs*, as are found in *England*: which excesse springs from the multitude of *Pedants* that reign among us; who, like Flies, blow one another in such quantities, over the Nation, as they doe not onely supplant those of their owne Calling (which in it selfe were mischiefe enough) but infect all *Government*. Their *Scholars*, if they arrive to any maturity, at length turne *Academicks*, whose Cloystered and Monkish *Learning* is by Statesmen looked upon as resembling dead Honey, which is stale, course and lesse usefull, none being pure and Virginall, but what is sucked from every Flower, that may be found in the wilde fielde of a generall Commerce. For though out of the huge heap of *University-men* Providence hath snatched such *choice Brands*, as are able to illuminate the world, yet let these towring Eagles speak sincerely (who like the Soul of Learning appeare above that vast pile of *Fathers*, *Schoolemen*, *Linguists*, *Criticks*, &c. heaped up by the Court of *Rome*, for a Funerall to all farther enquiry after Truth) and they must tell you, that the least part of this

excellency

excellency came from their *Mothers*: The *Tongues* being at the best but the *Crackers of Knowledge*; the *Kernell* remaining uselesse, if not bitter and loathsome, till picked & dressed by *Employment* & *Experience*. Nor can this be admired by such as consider the practise of ordinary *Tutors*, who throw to their *Pupils* the dry Bones, and not the Marrow of Erudition: By which more time is often consumed in the setting out, than a wise man perhaps would have thought well spent in the whole Journey.

74. This is not said to bring any water towards the clensing of their hands, who either have or doe intend to imbrue them in the Sacrilegious *Spoiles of Colledges*, to the utter discouragement of all future Charity; I wish them rather cut off: For though thousands are found to bury their Talents in the ocean of *Controversies*, and an implicit adhering to the writings of the *Ancients* (who might possibly erre out of no lesse policy, than the Church of *Rome* hath since maintained them) yet all ages do afford some that scorne to be tied up to Patterns, but i[illegible] the world with such new *Inventions*, as may not onely

expiate for the Charge, but the Ignorance of all *Foundations*.

75. Thus I have shewn, that the *Turk's* want of knowledg in our *Learning* or *Religion*, leaves him neither so Imprudent or Wicked, but that he is able to promote his owne *Interest*, and willing to make his Subjects so far *happy*, as may suit with an *Absolute power*.

AN

AN INDEX OF

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from Oaths and Religion.—17. *Though a false one; and from Church-men, who yet drive on their owne interest.*—18. *The Mahumetan Rites not chargeable or grievous to Nature.*—*Sacrifices, why omitted.*

19. *Their Abstinence from Wine, and the Reasons thereof.* 20. *Their Constancy to their Primitive Institutes; the first chiefe of Change, and*—21. *Their Provisions against it.*—22. *Reasons of State for the Mufty's Advancement and*—*the Emperour's honouring him in publique.* 23. (*Mecca within his owne power.*)—24. *Which yet cannot alwaies secure him from his Jealousie; but upon occasion he makes him away privately; yet without aspersing his Fame, and why.*—25. *Of the Expediency of such clandestine Dispatches.*—26. *A Reflection upon Queen* Elizabeth *for executing Queen* Mary *of* Scotland.—27. *Of the Custome for the Grand Seignior to strangle his Brothers.* 28. *Lust and Covetousnesse tolerated by the Turks.*—29. *Christians more impolitickly intent upon Pennill Lawes.*—30. *Punishments in* Turky *not so common as severer popular Incendiaries removed out of the way, privately.*—*The Folly of Subjects*

jects to rebell, and Rulers to provoke them. 31. Turkish Honours and Offices not Hereditary. —32. Nor Estates, —which makes all apply themselves to Trades: The benefits thereof, and mischiefes of Idleness. —33. Luxury, Excessive Building, Furniture. —34. Horse-races, Hunting, &c. —avoided (much) by their Poligamy. 35. Their publick Buildings magnificent; which some Christians demolisht. Advice to publick Spirits, rather to build Bridges, and mend Highwaies. 36. In order to augmentation of Empire, their interest promotes three things. 37 First, Obedience, either sacred, to the Mufty, &c. —38. or Civill, to the Emperor, who is very absolute. 39. Secondly, Parity. 40 Thirdly, Fortune, 41. Eunuchs made Generalls, and why. 42. Janizaries, why unmarried. 43. Quarter seldome granted, or not till after full victory, —44. which they will not throw away upon poore places. 45. Their Ordinance. 46. Their Food not dainty. 47. Their Expeditions why in Summer: Their Armies so strong, as not to need Reserves, 48. Upon a losse they retreat, without hazarding another, and why. 49. They are able to keep the Souldi-

er employed. 50. The Cavalry encouraged; a Feud between them and the Foot; which prevents Conspiracies; the like doth their being raised out of severall Nations. 51. Forts pernicious to such great Princes, though of use to weaker ones. 52. Religion, why not proclaimed the cause of War. Constantinople unworthily lost. 53. They fight not so couragiously against those of their owne beliefe. Successe an ill Judge of Truth. 54. The Sword an unfit instrument to Plant Religion. —55. That of the Mahumetans, why it rather enclines to Hope than Feare; —Contrary to the Popish Goblins, which intimidate Souldiers: The Turks breed up theirs to Valour and Obedience. 56. They count Fate inexorable, yet pray: though Praise were more proper. 57. Mahumetans and Jewes abhor Christians for their Images and Reall presence. 58. The Turk subtill in his Treaties, and if necessitated to break his word, charges the blame upon his Ministers. —59. Yet by reason of his strength, is seldome driven to such base shifts, as weaker Princes make use of. Perjury of latter times more frequent among Christians, which these Infidels

fidels avoid (in judiciary Trials) by examining witnesses apart, &c. instead of taking their testimonies upon Oath. 60. Why Jewes must turne Christians, before they may become Turks. 61. Opinions of Strangers indulged, and—Courtesans tolerated. 62. The Grand Seniors Revenue employed in his Wars, —his Pleasure! 63. His Wars, by reason of his strength, offensive, and—openly proclaimed, why. The Venetians impolitickly deserted. A Combination of Christians against the Turk, —how unlikely to succeed upon severall accounts: —who should head it? —The Pope, —The Emperour, —The King of Spain, —The Venetians. Expedients to weaken the Turk, —The Jesuits (if the Pope could spare them) to foment Schisme, &c. among them, —To shelter some of the yonger Royall Branches, or Grandees, that may head an Army, &c. —64. Why the Turk seldome makes Leagues, —sends Ambassadors, or—marries Forraigners, —though he take many Wives. 65. Why the Grand Senior appeares not in publique, but on horsback, and in such splendor; yet takes his Repast and pleasures privately in the Seraglio; The contrary use how disadvantagi-

vantageous to Christian Princes. 66. His vast Traine in Progresse; yet affable and winning carriage. 67. For Impositions and such like Grievances he useth Instruments.—68. Whom, upon occasion, he either delivers up to the fury of the People, or removes further off. 69. His Wrath fatall.

70. The Turkish Priests cry up all strange Events for Miracles, as well as the Papists—whose Juggles have been detected by the Learning of this last Age. —71. Which, together with Printing, the Turk tolerates not; A reflection upon University-Customes. 72. Those Sciences the Turks have, are taught in the Seraglio onely. The multitude of Grammer-schools among us do more hurt than good. In Turky the Offices of Priest and Lawyer are united: as the Lawes of the Jewes, both Divine and Civil, were into one Body by Moses, —The best form of Government. 73. A modest Censure of, and—74 An Apologie for Universities and Colledges. 75. The Conclusion.

A

A DISCOVRSE UPON *Nicolas Machiavell*: OR,

An impartiall examination of the juſtneſſe of the Cenſure commonly laid upon him.

MACHIAVELL *is branded* by all, neither can any abſolve him quite from *Blame*: Yet, conſidering he was not onely an *Italian*, but a *Courtier*, few can doe leſſe than admire his bad fortune to ſee one man inherit, in particular, the maſſe of *Reproaches*, due to all *Princes* and

and *Stateſmen* in generall; ſo far as to ſtyle, in way of Contempt, ſuch *Machiavellians*, who in a truer ſenſe might be termed Followers of *Charls* the fifth, *Lewis* the eleventh, or *Henry* the ſeventh. By this, embracing the bare *Apparitions* of *Vertue* and *Vice*, without obſerving the true *Subſtance*, which they quite let paſſe; marking for *Blemiſhes* in precedent times, what Hiſtorians note for *Prudence*, if not *Beauty* in ours: So as he that impartially examines the *lives* of thoſe formerly named (who are yet no Prodigies in the Nature of Government) may find more *Evill*, than can be deduced out of this man's *Scenes*, or (for ought we know) the worſt of his Thoughts: Yet they have *Wiſdome* inſcribed on their Tombs, by the Penners and Readers of their Stories, in which they lie quiet under the favour of ſome elegant *Apologie*, hitherto denyed to *Machiavell* by ignorant and ungratefull Poſterity.

He was *Secretary* to the State of *Florence*, of which he hath left an incomparable

parable *History*, with other Bookes so full of Truth, Learning and Experience, that the hand of Detraction hath not been able to asperse them; onely it endeavours to attach some straggling expressions in a small Pamphlet, called His *Prince*, which are with farre lesse Charity remembred, than so many larger and better pieces forgotten.

That he was imployed in honourable *Embassies*, is manifested from Story; And what umbragious and false Positions *Embassadors* Professions oblige them to, the *Transactions* of all *States* abundantly declare: For, as the *Italian* saith, *The best of Women with their Pettycoats devest their Modesty, to render themselves more gratefull to their Husbands Embraces*; So *Publique Ministers* can hardly pay the endeavours they owe to their *Country*, without exchanging for worldly *Policy* a great part of that Candor which should be current in the more sacred Commerce of honest and religious men. Nor can any expect lesse hope of

of forgiveneſſe in relation to ſuch as by theſe *oblique meanes* advance the preſervation of *God's people*, then the *Midwives* of *Egypt* may be ſuppoſed to have had, who purchaſed themſelves *Houſes* by ſuch uncertain Proteſtations, as, if extended on the Rack of a nice Scrutiny, could not chooſe but confeſſe, and appeare to all, little better than *Lies*. Few humane actions can be ſeparated from the droſſe of *Deceit*; onely ſuch are of beſt eſteeme, as carry the greateſt mixture of *Charity*; which makes me humbly conceive, this *learned man* deſerves leſſe *cenſure*: ſince ſuch Princes onely as *Jeroboam* (whoſe Intereſt is alwaies to dammifie others in order to their owne preſervation) and not their *Inſtruments*, may juſtly be ſaid to cauſe *Iſrael* to ſin.

His was no new *Deſigne*, but in all ages projected by the moſt faithfull *Hiſtorians*, who make it their buſineſſe to perſonate and repreſent the behaviours of Princes, though never ſo undecent; and did ever purchaſe the more applauſe,

applause, according to the greater or lesse faculty they had to doe it to the life. Neither can the strictest Religion condemne the *Speculation* of *Ill*, without betraying her Professors, if not her selfe: For with what vast disadvantage should a good *David* coope with a son of *Belial*, were there not prudent *Hushai's* to countermine the Infidies of wicked *Ahitophels*, and to learn men in power the art to catch their wily Neighbours in their owne Traps? Nor doe we finde his *Directions* shun'd in a lesse publick Commerce than that of Princes, since it lies not out of the way of Instance to prove, some sharpe inveyers against *Machiavell* have attained to *Church-Preferments*, under the favour of worse or the same *Principles*, *Alexander* the sixt ascended to the *Papacy*.

Do any lay *obscenity* to the charge of *Albertus*, or is he not rather stiled *the Great*, for having so plainly set open the Closet of Nature? If any sort of men have reason to tax this *Author*, they are onely *Kings* and

Persons

Perſons in power: For as it is the Cuſtome of *light women*, imperiouſly to blame all broad expreſſions of what they captivate their Servants affections by; ſo *Stateſmen* may with more ſhew of Juſtice, complaine of the publication of ſuch *Axiomes*, that being undiſcovered, their uſe might be with more ſecrecy and ſucceſſe.

Neither doth any greater *Reproach* redound to him from ſuch as pervert them to the *prejudice* of others, than to a *Fencer*, if his Scholars make uſe of his skill in the deſtruction of their Friends: It being only his aime to teach them how to guard themſelves, and reſiſt other that ſhall, contrary to the Laws of God, Nature, and Probity, endeavour to aſſault them.

Ignorance and lack of Experience in the Cuſtomes of other Nations are the Parents of theſe ſpurious *Cenſures*; for had they been where he writ, theſe *Documents* would be no more admired, than the moſt monſtrous of thoſe Chinnes we obſerve in *England*, are, in compariſon of ſome

to

to be found at the feet of the *Alps*.

Neither will a small abatement appeare in his *Charge*, if the *dayes* he lived in be seriously considered. His misfortune was, to be contemporary with *Pope Alexander* the sixt, and of intimate acquaintance with his Son *Cæsar Borgia*: And what these were, is sufficiently apparent to men versed in Story: a study such proclaime themselves ignorant of, that can so bitterly exclaim upon *Machiavell*: For were they conversant with the procedures of Superlative Powers, his *Rules* would seeme rather impertinent, and below the *practice of Princes*, than to deserve such severe *Reproofes*; the sting of which lies in their owne ignorance, not the more usefull Knowledge, they condemn.

No *Age* abounded more with *Action*, or shewed the *instability* of worldly *Honours* plainer than that he writ in: Therefore from a man wholly conversant in *Court-employments* (where it is thought a Lunacy to look be-

beyond the second Causes, or to attend upon the credit of any higher Providence than their owne) worse things in reason might be expected, than his, which are really no other than the *History* of wise *Impieties*, long before legible, and since imprinted with new Additions in the hearts of every *ambitious Pretender*; yet He undergoes a *Censure* equall with those that commit farre greater wickednesse, than his or any Pen else is able to expresse.

Divers *Estates*, in *Italy*, did in his time desire, or actually *change* their *Lords*: A juncture opportune to teach nothing so naturally, nor require any thing more necessary than *Aphorismes of Policy*. For *Naples* was torne out of the house of *Anjou*, by *Ferdinand*, and the people oppress under Father and Son. *Lodowic* took the Dukedome of *Millan* from young *Galeas*, with the like treachery as *Francis Sforza*, Father to *Galeas*, had done from the Dukes of *Orleans*.

He saw the Descent of the *French* into *Italy* winked at by Pope *Alexander*

the fixt, in expectation of raising an House for his Son *Cæsar*, out of the gleanings of the *French Kings* Conquest; In which he *prayed without his Beads*, being so farre out, in the account, as that after *Charles* had got a large share in *Italy* (through the mediation of the *Jealousie* of *Princes*, no lesse than the *Discontent* of the *People*, arising from the uneasy posture they lay in, so as all Changes were considered with delight) he entred *Rome*, forced *His Holiness* into St. *Angelo*, from whence, after some time, he came out swearing to such *Capitulations*, as the victorious King was pleased to profer him: And though at his reception, the *French* King kissed his foot, yet he durst not trust to his single Infallibility, but took his Son *Cæsar* for an *Hostage*; and to hide it from the Envy of other *Catholick Princes*, he covered his detention with the title of an *Embassie*, still to reside neere him in token of Amity. But, not long after, *Cæsar* procuring an Escape, his Father, contrary

trary to his Oath, contracted a *League* against the *French*, so much to the prejudice of that Kingdomes affaires, as it may not onely excuse *Machiavell*, but all writers of *Politicks*, if they labour to abate the faith of Princes, in relation to the strictest *Stipulations* made with Neighbours, found seldome observed, but broken as oft as kept by absolute Powers, to the irreparable losse of the weaker Party: Whereas an Errour in private Persons may be expunged by an after-Game, or helped by complaint, *&c.* Remedies too weake to cure the Wounds of Princes, who in such cases are saved onely by their unbeliefe, and seldome perish, but through unadvised confidence, in giving too much credit to the Protestations of lesse religious performers of *Covenants*; which rise and fall; not according to the more constant Standard of Religion, but the various successe of worldly occasions: And he that knowes not how rare a Commodity *Probity* is, in the Market of Princes, is no fit Reader, much lesse a com-

competent Judge of *Machiavell*.

Leagues, *Truces*, *Compacts*, and *Peace*, are become so crack'd and invalid, through a dayly miscarriage in performance, as they serve for little better use, then to buy in smaller Territories, such as *Loraine* and the *lesser Cities* and *Principalities* in *Italy* and *Germany*, that have little else to trust to, but the promises of Protection they receive from more *Potent Monarchs*, which they know would devoure them, but out of dread of each other: Therefore bound by the strongest reason of State, to balance them upon the accesse or desertion of every fortune good or bad.

Which makes *Oaths* among Statesmen, upon a true survey, to signifie nothing, at best, more danger than profit: Binding onely such, as, in relation to Impotency or Honesty, stand in least need; And becoming, like Juglers Knots, no waies astrictive to the more Potent, who are ever able to elude them by slights, or break them by power. Now since *Italy*, for whose

Meri-

Meridian he calculated his *Advise's*; consists, for the most part, of *weak* pieces, it shewes him more excusable, if not commendable, in sitting them so accurately to their practice and conveniency. And till all Kings agree (which is never to be expected), to keep their *Stipulations* and *Covenants*, you cannot think it reasonable that a Subject to the Duke of *Florence* should have advised his Patron to begin; so contrary to the examples of those times, as it was knowne, the *Pope* did then contract an Amity with the *Grand Seignior*, which, in Charity, may bee thought he meant not to observe, though for his sake, he suffered himselfe to be hired to poyson his *Brother* (fled into *Christendome*, for feare of tasting the fate of the rest, after his Father's death) and might have been of great advantage to any, that had designed to abate the *Ottoman Empire*. Now after the breach of Faith, so contrary to the promise made to this poor *Infidel*, at his being put into his hands; and *his Holiness's* owne interest, in

case

rate the *Turke* had invaded *Europe*, it cannot be more passion than discretion, to condemne *Machiavel* for his seasonable Advice in relation to the Oath of Princes.

After all this, he saw *Charles* the *French King* lose *Italy*, with the like facility he had gained it, all the advantages he might have made being snatched from between his legs, by the Catholick King. And the Pope and his Son, by mistake, poysoned with the same Bottle of Wine, prepared by themselves for others; by which the Father was taken away presently, but the Son, fortified with Youth and Antidotes, had leisure to live and see, what he had gotten, torn out of his possession, and himself forced to fly to his Father-in-law, the King of *Navarre*, in whose service he was murdered.

It were heartily to be wished, that unlawfull practises were onely vendible in *Italy*, and not the traffick of all the Courts in the known world, where the marks, the Text hath set upon them

roboam, who (according to the Dialect of *England*, for I finde it not so elsewhere) may be styled, *The Machiavel of the Jewes*, cannot scare Princes out of the same path: For what King hath failed to *set up altars at Bethel and Dan*, when their power is in danger, by the people going to *Jerusalem*? When *Saul* was but a Subject, he sought to the *Prophet* for his Fathers *Asses*, but after his assumption to the Throne, a *Witch* is consulted, about the successe of a *Battell*. *Christ* saith, *Not many great*, &c. *are called*: Men's *sui-fides*, at Court, are *soft*, but their hearts (within) seared and hard.

Pride is the roote of all Evill; which Princes do not onely foster in themselves, but water by preferments in all others they find able to promote the ends of it; whose effects cannot be comprized in a narrower circle, than the whole Masse of Impieties, *Ambition* is able to commit: That prompted *Phocas* to kill his Master the *Emperour*; *Cæsar* to ruine the most glorious *Republique* ever the Sun saw; It teacheth Children to pull undecently the Crowne from their *Fathers* Heads; it is this that fills Hell with Soules, Heaven

ven with Complaints, and the Earth with Bloud; It made *Charles* the fifth, to arme himselfe against him, be believed, if he believed any thing, to be the *Vicar* of our *Saviour*, and would have led him in triumph with *Francis* the *French* King, made his Prisoner the same yeare by a like fate of War: Neither did *Philip* the second do lesse then mingle the blood of his then onely Son *Charles*, with the great quantity he spilt upon the face of *Europe*; yet his thirst unsatisfied, he set a new world abroach in *America*, which he let run, till it was as empty of people, as himselfe of Pitty. Are not the Heads of Nations presented by *Historians*, like that of the *Baptist* in *Chargers* of blood? Nay what are *Chronicles* lesse than Registers of Murders & projects to bring the about, to the best advantage of ambitious Pretenders? Yet none are so severely blamed that writ the.

I would not be so far mistaken, as to be thought to apologize for tyrannicall Principles and practices, knowing they render both Doers and Sufferers miserable: my aim being onely to prove, that if *Machiavell* stood legally indicted, he could not be condemned by those at the

Helme in any State, who to all ages were his Peeres, & could not therefore in equity take up a stone against him. Bad advice, without Execution, hurts onely the Giver. Besides, I cannot believe, the generality of those that cry out upon him, in publique, ever saw or read his *Writings*, but take their Clamour upon trust, as they do against *Julian*, stiled the *Apostate*, how truly, I leave to such as are better able to judge, than thousands of men so impudent as to extend incomparable Wits upon the erring Rack of *Common Fame*, in imitation of their ignorant Ancestors, who looked upon *Mathematicians* as Conjurers; though Wisdome hath justified these her Children so farre, as to informe the world, that no Learning is a greater enemy to Falshood then theirs.

Yet *Machiavell* is so modest as to ask, Who had not rather be *Titus* then *Nero*? But to him that will be a *Tyrant*, he proposeth a way least prejudiciall to his temporall Estate: As if he should say, Thou art already at defiance with Heaven, therefore to preserve thee in an earthly power, no mean is left but to be perfectly wicked, a task not higher to performed, no not by the worst of *Usurpers*; it being as

far beyond example, that any Tyrant hath done all the mischiefe requisite to his own and Childrens safety, as that the best of Kings have, in any age, put in execution all the good. Now of the first he proposeth *Cæsar Borgia*, for the most absolute pattern, who used all Artifices to remove every impediment standing between him and his desires, but his owne being sick at the time of his Fathers death, which perplexed his affaires so, as he could not bring in a *Pope* of his owne *Faction*; for want of which, his so well-built Designes (as he fondly supposed) fell to the ground, as most of their do, that prosecute Empires by oblique meanes; into whose lap Divine Justice not seldome throwes Destruction, or some louder Discontents, that over-vote the pleasure, Ambition takes in the accomplishment of her ends.

But since it is sometime the will of God (for Reasons best knowne to himselfe) to give a happy successe to bad meanes wisely contrived, why should this *Florentine* be so bitterly inveyed against, who cannot be denyed but to have had at least as vertuous Principles, for a *Member* of the Roman Church, as *Alexander* the sixt, that

was *Head* of it? with whom all Impieties were as familiar as the aire he breathed in, so farre, that it could not be so well guessed, when he spake true or false, as by the abundance of *Oaths* he used when he meant to deceive.

Worldly Wisdome is recommended to us in the person of the *unjust Steward*; &, I pray, what doth *Machiavell* say more of *Cæsar Borgia*, but that he was a *perfect Tyrant*? And if he presume so far on your (better supposed) Honesty, as to propose him for an *Example*, yet it is still of *Evill*; and what fitter pattern can there be for an *Usurper*, than one of his owne Coat.

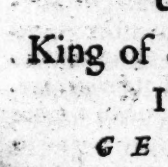
Neither are the *Rules* he layes down, waved by the best of men if wise; for who executes not *ingratefull actions*, *by Deputies*, *acceptable in Person*? And all these his *Documents* he gives onely to a *Prince*; for had he assigned this practise to a *Son*, or any else circumscribed in a narrower roome than a *Kingdome*, he might be more justly condemned: But undertaking to make a *Grammar* for the right understanding the *Dialect* of *Government*, why is he blamed for setting downe the most *Generall* Rules, and such as all Statesmen make use of, either to benefit themselves

or hurt others? That they make no conscience of falsehood, is manifest by *Lewis* the eleventh, that learned Father in *King craft* who pronoũced him ignorãt of the way to live, that knew not how neatly to deceive.

That *Breach of Faith* in *private Persons*, is not only destructive to wel-being but also damnable, he cannot deny; but *Princes* pretend larger Charters in relation to a more universall Cõmerce; which they extend to *Embassadors*, & Ministers of State; as counting all things hopourable that are safe: & if this be an *Evill*, it is the *Kings*, and no way curable, but by the King of Heaven.

To conclude, a *Body Politick* is like that of a *Man*, which when it is altogether, shewes outwardly a beautifull and comely sight; but search into the Entralls from whence the true Nourishment proceeds, and little is to be found but Blood, Filth and Stench: The truth is, *Machiavell* is observed to have raked deeper in this, than his Predecessors, which makes him smell, as he doth, in the nostrills of the nice and ignorant; whereas those of more Prudence and Experience, know it is the most naturall savour of the *Court*, especially where the Prince is of the *first Head*; of which, such as come in by Succession may abate much.

OBSERVATIONS
Upon the King of *Sweden's* Descent INTO *GERMANY*.



Within an Age or two, sometimes more, sometimes lesse, according as the World is enclined to Happinesse or Infelicity there hath still risen up some *Ambitious Pretender* or other, that hath laboured to build himselfe a *Name* by the effusion of humane *Blood*: And these offering *fine subjects for Discourse* and *Romantes*, are by the Antients stiled *Heroe's*, by the Moderns, *Conquerours*, and men of *high spirits*. The first of these we hear of, is *Nimrod*, branded by God himselfe; To him *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, and innumerable others succeeded, who for the most part stand highly regi-

stred

stred in *Historicall Calendars*, because they afford good *Pens* an easie way to render themselves *immortall* by a neat expression of their Butcheries; when indeed they both deserve rather the *curse* of Mankinde, the one for doing, the other for recommending to Posterity such *cruell examples*, without giving them the true name of *wolfish Ambition* which all merit, who infest others Territories out of no more pious reason than *Augmentation of Empire*. The principall Errand, however palliated (to purchase Partakers) with more plausible and gilded *Mottos* in their Flags, which they hold out to the People. And I believe, if God had continued the *King of Sweden* in *life* and *successe*, he had gone as high in Blood, and as deepe in Devastation, as his *Ancestors* and *Goths* did in *Italy*, where they ruined such *Monuments*, as Time could not have, yet demolished, but that she received assistance from their barbarous hands. And now I have set him under his naturall colours, I am bold to maintain, that he that looks to the end of his Prospective, shall see his *Actions* reach beyond the *Darings of all* (in that kind) that ever

went before him may appeare by these *Circumstances*.

1. He did not fall on men drowned in *sloth* & *Luxury*, but on a *Prince* whose *Prudence* was lately wakened with the *losse* of a *Crown* & his Peoples *valour* new whetted by *regaining* it: Being so far from wanting all *necessaries for War*, that, besides new ones of his own, he was Master of all such *Magazines*, as were provided by the *Elector* and his party: So as it may with reason be believed, that if the *Swedes* little finger had been in the endeavour to lessen the *Austrian Family*, when the *Palsgrave* put in his hand, the King, long before his death, had possessed the *Emperiall* Throne.

No party (in any extant Relation I have seen) is heard *to call him in*: All the *Forces* he had, or could raise, appearing to the world as *inconsiderable*; till he had shewed them such a Miracle, as a puissant Army upon one Horse. After whom they ran to gather up the Spoile, who, till then, had their heels shackled with *Cæsar's* Successes.

3. The *Duke* of *Saxony*, the most potent Prince of the *Protestant* party, had no stroger *Title* to his *Estate*, than what he derived fro *Cæsars* power who had placed him ther for the like fault, in his *Elder Branch* (which

yet remain'd in being to claim his right) he must have fallen into, had he yeilded succour or assistance to the *Swedish* Crown.

4. He had seen the *King* of *Denmark* coming on the like errand, *baffled*; A Prince inferiour to him in little but *Valour* and *Temperance*; having the *Sound* at command, not to be over-matched with any advantages the *Swede* could properly have called his own.

5. The *jealous hatred*, this and all other Nations have to these *Northern people*, as desirous by nature to better their *Heaven*, with an incroachment upon *Neighbours*, that live under a more auspicious *Sun*.

6. The new *Protests of Fealty* made by the *Princes* & *Hans Towns* to the *Austrian* Family, procured by his late *Victories*; the terror of which had so cooled the zeal of the people, and evaporated the heat they formerly were in to regain their *Liberty*.

7. The assurance he had, that *James* of *England*, who refused to heare his owne *Honour* and the cries of his *Children*, would never listen to the voice of a *Stranger*, that had no better Cards to shew for his future Successe, than *Valour* and good *Conduct*, in which the old man had as little *Faith* as Knowledge.

8. The *Hollanders*, his most considerable Friends could not help him, but by way of *Diversion*, being far off both in respect of distance and quality of their Power; the *States* chiefe strength lying in *Ships*, no waies serviceable to the *Swede* in his *Inland expedition*: And to counterpoise this, as if Fate had renounced all assistance but his owne, the *Duke* of *Lorain* had cast himselfe blindfold into the Arms of the *Spaniard*, with whom was as madly joyned the *French Kings Brother*, both in Alliance and Person at that time very considerable, in regard of the known weakneſſe of the *K. of France his body*, & the *surmiſes* of his *Sterility*, thought to be supplyed by the *Cardinall's* industry.

9. He could not expect such cordiall help from *France*, as a naturall Prince of *Germany*, because upon successe he was ready to assume the Title of *Emperour* to himselfe; the onely baite likely to draw in the *most Christian King*. Neither could *that Nation* be assured, that, his ends attained in *Germany*, he might not be prompted by his good fortune to invade them; *Ambition* swallowing all opportunities of gaining, without the taſt of any former obligations;

obligations. And for the *French King*'s being chosen by the Reformed Princes *Head of the Union*; He knew that King looked upon it, rather as a scorne put upon *James* of *England*, for his neglect, than as an honour done to himselfe; the *Germans* being wholly compelled to it by necessity, in that juncture of occasions.

10. For *Money*, accounted by all the onely *Oyle*, able to make the Engines of War move, he could not have much, being numbred among the *poorest* Kings in *Europe*. And to make this defect the more impossible to be dispensed with, he knew the *Emperour* like a *Colossus*, had not onely a leg of *Iron* in *Germany*, but one of *Gold* in *Spain* to assist it upon the least offer of any motion to offend him.

11. The best he could expect at first (till Successe had made him formidable) from the *Landgrave Van Hess*, *Witenberg* & the rest of the meaner Princes, was a modest *Neutrality*: Or if they were so mad as to rush themselves into a sudden declaration for him, there was a large compensation made to the other side, by the unfeigned assistance of the *Duke* of *Bavaria*, who had his affection newly purchased by the

rich

rich donative of the *Palatinate*, together with the principall *Lay-Electorate*; which could hold no longer good, than the *Emperour* was maintained in a Superlative power.

12. It is true, that *Walleſtin* and the Emperours *Veteran Militia* had parted from the laſt *Action* with ſome *diſcontent*: But this is ſo ordinary at the *Diſbanding of Armies*, when there is no farther uſe of them, that it could not infuſe ſo deaf an *ill Spirit* into the generality of the Souldiery, but that the ſound of the next *Advance money* would ſoon caſt it out: And, one to command in chiefe was not hard to be found, where the late Combuſtions had created ſo large a choice.

Had he been *beaten*, or *ſneaked* out of the *Action*, as *Denmark* did, ſuch *Reaſons* might have been upbraided to him, as raſh'ly neglected: But ſince he was able to *breake* through them all, *thay multiply the weight of ſtronger of his owne*, which led him on againſt theſe; not to be found but in his owne Head, and the confidence he had of his *Conduct* & *Valour*; doing many things wherein

in appeared a *Hand* more powerfull than *Fortune's*; who was not able to make her selfe *Mistresse* of his Sword, but by taking away his *Life*: And that done, *Victory* had been so much *his* that it could not be denyed to his *dead carcase*.

If the *strength* of the Enemy adds to the Conquest: who could cope with a stronger, & upon more disadvantages? so as who ever reades the *Advises* of those times, shall finde that the *King of Sweden* made, not onely *Rome*, but *Constantinople*, to tremble; the *Turke* standing in such admiration of his Valour, that he lost his activity, and did not onely forbeare to make *inrodes* into *Germany*, which upon lesse occasions he used to doe; But gave off all thoughts of offending others, as if he feared he should have worke enough to defend himselfe.

And had the *Swedish* Sword made as deepe impressions in his *Empire*, as it left in the *Germane*, they would have been looked upon as *Miracles*; And, instead of *Antichrist* (which by reason of his succesſe, some *Catholiques* fondly call'd him) he would have been styled, *The Champion of the Gospell*.

All

All the advantage I can find the King had out of himselfe, was the Emperour's Ignorance of that Common *Lesson*, so often repeated to the Prejudice of the wisest Princes; That *Slighted parties are followed with the greatest traine of inconveniences, in relation to such as despise them.*

Now if men esteem of Soldiers, by the quantity of *Blood* and *Land* they have wasted, *King Philip* the second of *Spaine*, will out-goe them all, in his Conquest of *Peru*, and the rest of those weak people: But if Reason may be heard, the least part of *Germany* asketh more difficulty to reduce it, than both the *Indies*, or all that *Alexander* and his like are able to boast of.

A DISCOURSE UPON PISO and VINDEX,

Who both conspired the Death of NERO,

Though with a contrary Successe.

PISO a Noble-man borne, beloved of the People, drawn into the *Action* rather out of the perswasion of others, than his owne affection, associated with the *choisest Wits* in the *Roman Empire*, followed by the *bravest Spirits*, and armed with *pretences* that were proof against all the darts Reason or Religion could cast at them; yet *miscarried* in the midst of these Advantages, falling soone after into the same Grave, he had most justly measured out for *Nero*,

The foundation of whose Ruine was laid by *Vindex*, that had no stronger materials to work his destruction, than what he hammered out of his owne invention, & the advantage he took from the love of a broken *Legion*, no way considerable in re-

respect of the rest of the Princes Forces, that stood at this time firme to him, having had their affections newly warmed by divers *Largesses* and a dayly *Impunity*; stroger engagemets in such corrupt times, than all the vertue & piety incidet to flesh.

It's true, *Vindex* never lived to see the effect of his brave attempt, as the most stately Fabricks are cómonly least enjoyed by those that build them: Yet the Reasons why his beginnings did succeed, rather than *Piso's*, may be some of these.

1 Of which the *first* lies hid in the dark Book of *Fatality*, where all things are kept from perishing till they are arrived at the utmost period *Providence* hath set them; which is for that time as constant in the *preservation* of the Instruments of her wrath, as the Dispensers of her Clemēcy: But whē the criticall minute, appointed for their *destruction*, is come, they lie levell with their feet, whose hands before were not able to reach them

2. The *manner* of *Piso's* attempt, which was to *assasinate Nero*: An endeavour no lesse indecent for men of Honour, than unproper for a *Tyrant*; who as he is Enemy to all, so ought he to perish by the hands of all; which,

which, by a *Clandestine* dispatch, had not only lost the pleasure, but the example of their Revenge. Neither was it in any degree of possibility likely to be concealed; & therefore the harder to succeed, having been communicated to so many, and of so different tempers, who out of hatred to others or love to themselves, could not choose but reveale it.

3. As the body of Man, be it never so sound, is maintained in being by contention of humors, the bloud flying to the heart upon any sudden assault: But if a Bruise be made in a *remote* place, it falls not out so, but affords the virulent matter leisure togather. Thus are bad Princes with more ease and safety destroyed by a remote and open hostility, than a sudden and private attempt: For, neere, men see dayly so many effects of their cruelty, that they are afraid, studying more their own safety than the freedome of the Common-wealth.

Besides the *familiarity* with *Tyranny* makes it so domesticall, that those within the *Verge of the Court* know not well how to live without it: Therefore they must be tender of his preservation, to maintain their

their own power, having rendred themselves either actively or passively as odious to the people as their Master.

4. As any thing that ministers occasion of discourse, the farther it extends, the more sound it makes; and he that gathereth *Snow*, hath a *Ball* proportionable to the *distance* he rolls it in: So those that cry out *a farr off*, upon the abuses of the *Court*, doe not onely draw attention from some about them, but tickle the eares, and stir up the Spirits of all such as have felt, or do feare the weight of Oppression. Nay, such persons themselves, as at a neerer distance, would, out of hope or feare, labour to quench it, will, a great way off, look upon a combustion, with delight: *Novelty* being of that nature (especially following things ill) that it raiseth more expectation of good, than it can destroy.

5. *Open force* doth assure the *Malecontents*, that there is pretence made of no more than what is cordially intended; to which the soft whispers of a few confederates cannot enough perswade: It being the ordinary practice of tyrannicall Governours, by such instruments to entrap others for whose lives and estates they

they long. But in this case, *Report*, that represents nothing in its due proportion, instead of the danger that is, musters up all that *may be*: And in this the concerned Tyrant seconds her; who looking through the false Spectacles of guilt & feare, reads his fortune worse, than possibly it is written, and above prevention; so farre, as though *Hope* (the last friend in such adversities) cannot quite be shook off, she fixeth upon lower objects, than the continuance of his former power. This flattered *Nero*, that though they drave him out of *Rome*, yet for pity, or to satisfie his Party, they might be drawn to leave him *Egypt* quiet: As foolish an opinion in him, as it had been madnesse in them, to think any power meet to be left in the hands of an exasperated Prince; whose *Revenge* cannot be buried but in his grave, especially if it respects his Subjects: For though himselfe might be of a nature to forgive it, those about him cannot, but will be ready to incite him to take it upon all occasions.

6. Where there are *many* that *conspire*, the apprehension of any one will soone *dismay* the rest; whereas the like resolution taken by a single person, and not communicated,

nicated, seldome failes, being secure from all feare, and hastened by no accident but what opportunity presents.

7. *Ill Counsell* is rather to be hearkened unto, than *none* at all; there being a possibility to mend it with better: whereas a *dull suspension* looseth time, a thing irrecoverable; and doth not only assure the *Adversaries*, but disheartens *Friends*, giving them leisure to listen to the free offers of the contrary Party.

It may be *observed* in the *fall* of *Nero*, that *the meaneſt Conspiracy is not to be slighted*. For in a crazed Common wealth, the least jangling will bring the multitude about the eares of their Governour; who, having offended all, knowes not whom to trust, that hath any power with the people: And this perceived by his own, they desert him, or by his destruction labour to purchase their particular safety: For what hope can another have in him, that distrusts himselfe?

He that hath lost the *love of his people*, cannot be certain of his present safety or moderate ruine when it comes; for the most part sudden in regard of his owne knowledge, though presaged and wished by all the world besides.

No

No prudence can maintaine a *Tyrant* long in power: for though he may divert the people from making inspection into his disposition, by exposing his Agents to their mercy; yet at last the succession of the same *abuses* will direct them to the true cause; which being once discovered to lye in his Nature, nothing he doth shall please, but be suspected for more evill, than it can in probability produce: The worlds *Opinion* exercising no lesse authority over Kings, than meaner men. Besides, the *delivering up men in Authority to the rage of the People*, like letting of Blood, may stop the progresse of a present Fever, but much weakens the power of the Prince, to resist a future distemper.

After the disorders of a Tyrant are laid before the eyes of the people, it turnes thousands his enemies in an instant, that out of Custome or Conscience prayed for him the day before. Who are more solicitous to advance his *destruction*, than carefull to choose a *Successour* that might be fit to govern. Their *Discretion* extending no farther than their *Nourishment*, which they only receive frō *hand to mouth*. Therefore all the use that can be made of this

popular

popular Monster is, during their first heat: For, their expectations deluded (being incapable of honour or reward) they are ready, with the Dog, to lick up the same *Nero* they had vomited out. And, that it is easier to expell a *Tyrant*, than to finde a Prince in all points worthy to succeed, appeared by *Galba*: And by *Otho* we find, when the multitude are up in *Swarmes*, they care not, what *Bush* they light on.

If *Seneca* had got the Emperiall Diadem from under *Piso*, it is uncertain, whether he had been able to have kept it: Vertue having shewed her selfe as great an enemy to a *fresh Family* as Vice; to whom *Cruelty* is for the most part more necessary than *Clemency*, especially towards the *Nobility*, who are observed to carry the most naturall affection to the *old line*, that first wound them up to honour.

I would be loath to blame *Seneca* wrongfully, though the immense *Treasure* he left behind him doth, not onely, by consequence, accuse him of too much *Covetousnesse*, as some Authors are bold to lay *Ambition* to his charge; which the worse became him, because unpossible to be satisfied but at the cost of his Maker. But

admit

admit this *Stoick* in outward Profession, though an *Epicure* in his Gardens, *&c.* to be as good as he desired to be thought, yet if he had not restored to the *Romans* their lost *liberty*, but sought to establish the *Government* in his owne *house*, he had onely imitated their Charity, that take a Slave out of one cruell Family to put him into another, that might in a smal time prove as bad: or if he had governed moderately all his life, it had been like the good day in a *Feaver*, which is so short and uncertaine, that it takes away all tast of Ease and Delight, *&c.*

A DISCOURSE Upon the *Greatneſs* & *Corruption* OF The *Court* of *Rome*.

THere is nothing, *Idleneſſe* and *Peace* makes not worſe, *Labour* and *Exerciſe* better: The *Tree* that ſtands in the *Weather*, roots beſt, and deepeſt; The running *Water*, and *Aire* that is agitated, are moſt wholſome and ſweet. The Cauſe of this may be deduced from Gods eternall *Decree*, That nothing in Nature ſhould remain idle and without *motion*: This alſo extends to the *Children of Grace*, who goe more nimbly about the works of their heavenly Calling, being driven by the ſtormes of *Perſecution*, than when they have nothing but the ſmooth voice of *Proſperity* to allure and perſwade them. The *Martyrs* profeſſed *Chriſt* more boldly, amidſt the flames of the hotteſt Perſecutions, than we dare do in the Sunſhine of the Goſpell. God

God never made a larger promise of his continuing *Truth* in any place, than to the Nation of the *Jewes:* Yet how often do we find it buried in the rubbish of Errors and Impiety? Their Kings and Priests either teaching, or at least tolerating Idolatry: The Church being driven into so dark and narrow a corner, as the Prophet *Elias* could not discover a righteous man: Neither was *Jerusalem* in better plight, which had the *Temple*, and in that the *Oracles* of God, in possession. For if it did scape profanation during the worser dayes of *Solomon*, his son *Rehoboam* saw it plundered, and in most of his successors raignes it lay neglected or misimploied. So that if a stranger, led by the glorious title the *Jewes* had, to be *the people of God*, should have conformed himselfe to their worship, he had scarce mended his markt, though he were before never so great an Idolater. Yet God never gave a larger *Charter* to any *Church*; part of it being contained in these words, *I have hallowed this House which thou hast built, to put my name there for ever.* This proves Gods *Promises* conditionall, and that outward *Felicity* seldome accompanies inward *Integrity*; or

if they have the luck to meet, they preſently part; mens hearts being ordinarily to narrow to entertain goodneſſe and worldly pomp.

The *Churches* we read of in the *New Teſtament*, with whom the Holy Ghoſt was ſo familiar, as to direct particular *Letters* unto them, are not now to be found. Onely *Rome* brags, ſhe remains the ſame in purity of *Doctrine*, though for *Manners* ſhe is as corrupt as her elder Siſter *Sodome*, ſo that if *Italy* be a Circle of Impiety, the *Court of Rome* is the Center. Yet theſe plead their Title with God himſelfe, grounding it upon the tottering Foundation of worldly *felicity*: Forgetting that it is againſt the example of all times, that any Nation, much leſſe a Church, ſhould ſo long ſaile under the merry gale of earthly proſperity, & not long ere this diſcharge herſelfe of that rich lading ſhe was fraught withall, when ſhe traded for Soules, under the Fathers of the Primitive times. There having been ſuch a ſucceſſion of imperious greatneſſe in that *Chaire*, as *Rome* is now more like the proud & triumphant Chappel of *Antichriſt*, than the poore and militant Church of God. All the calamities that

have

have of late fallen upon her, may be said to have dropt from her owne Ambition, in seeking to enlarge her power at the cost and prejudice of others, and therefore more naturally to be styled Punishments than Persecutions.

You cast your eyes on no Story where the *villany* of *Popes* is not at large discovered; who can then believe that the pure Spirit of God should indow with infallibility of judgment Monsters so visibly corrupted? We finde, the Holy Ghost did under the *Law* hate and forbid all impurity though in meer outward *Ceremony*; how then should he under the brighter light of the *Gospell*, suffer himselfe to be poured out of one uncleane Vessell into another; beginning again with a *Conjurer* where he left with a *Sodomite*.

Yet they say, R*ome* is *the true Church*, out of which there is no Salvation; Not remembring that the holy Scripture, Charity and Reason tell us, Gods *Church* is as *universall* as the Earth; and shall one day be gathered together under Christ the Head. Now in the meane time, that *harmony* of Opinions they pretend to, may be rather wished, than hoped for. In *Pauls* time

some made conscience of eating things *sacrificed to Idols*, others of *Circumcision*; yet he condemnes them not for schismaticall. And it is but a weak evasion to say, *He* bare with them in regard of the infancy of the Church: For in these dayes of knowledge she is as infantine in some places, as she was then: where he that taught had the strength of *Miracles* to justifie his Doctrine, which these want, and are driven to this shift in lieu of them, to cozen the people with such as are supposititious. Now if there be no salvation out of the *Church of Rome*, not to speak of our selves, *&c.* what Charity is it to think all the Water cast away, that is poured in Christs name, upon the faces of those Christians in *Greece*, *Russia*, and remoter places, to which this Ages curiosity & covetousnesse hath taught thē the way? This makes me think there is no room for such monopolizing Opinions: But I leave this to Divines, returning to the *Pope*.

After the *Piety* of the first *Bishops* of *Rome* had purchased them *Reputation*, and that God had not onely opened the hearts of *Potentates* to receive the *Gospell*, but their hands to build and endow *Churches*: They being

being advanced first to the Dignity of *Arch bishops*, thence to *Patriarchs*, & so at last to the *Papal* Supremacy (a name derived from *Pater Patriarcharum*, which for brevities sake was written *Pa Pa*) exchanged their Piety for Promotion, It being the Custome of fraile Humanity, to conclude goodnesse at the beginning of Felicity.

For taking the advantage of new kindled *Zeale*, wisely observed by them to be the hottest, the *Popes* were able to lead King and People whither they pleased, & in the interim had the opportunity to proportion what power or riches they thought fit for themselves.

Now as *Policy* is not able to keep long the right way to *Heaven*, so at last it led them into a world of Impieties, by encroaching, under pretence of Religion, upon higher Jurisdiction and Power than could naturally belong to Subjects: which wanting strength of their own to maintain, they sheltered them under the *Donation* of such *Princes*, as had no better titles to their *Crownes*, than was derived from an *Vsurpation* over the weaknesse of those in former possession; glad of the *Popes* Protection, because they found the gene-

rality of men, either out of Religion or Ignorance, made their eſtimate of the truth or falſhood of the Titles, and legality of the *Claims of Princes*, according as they were more or leſſe current in the opinion of their *Clergie*, whoſe judgements depended wholly on the Biſhop of *Rome*, who afforded his approbation to their illegitimate *Titles*, out of no weaker Reaſon of State, than they at firſt deſired it: Laying up with all diligence their *Petitions* and his *Grants*, to remain as Precedents for their poſterite to be guided by. Therefore it is no wonder, why theſe *Tyrants* & *Uſurpers* ſhould ſtrengthen the power of the *Pope*, ſince the foundation of their own was laid upon the exorbitant exceſſe of that of *Rome*; which is ſo improved, as the *Emperour* hath, for many ages, received his *Crowne* from their Succeſſors, to whom his Predeceſſors had formerly given the *Miter*.

The cloud of *Ignorance*, that did then cover the face of the world, was a great help to keep their jugling undiſcovered: For that little *Learning* extant in thoſe times was wholly included in the *Monaſticall Clergie*, (the *Laity* being intent upon

upon nothing but Wars and Pleasure) so as they had opportunity to make all *Books* and *Records* speak in their favour; which being *Manuscrips*, & so but in few hands, it was no hard matter to corrupt them. Besides being prohibited *Marriage*, they did neither respect nor acknowledge other Posterity or *Alliance*, than those to succeed in the same places, of whom they had so religious a care, as they thought none merited well of the Church, that did not leave them endowed with more *Power* and *Immunities* then they found them: Making it an *Article* of the faith they owed to their Profession, *to suppresse the Laity, & advance the Clergie*: And if this was the End, they esteemed no Means ill, conducing to it.

Thus by Time, the Indulgency of good, and Necessity of wicked and illegitimate *Princes*, they freed their whole *Society* from the Jurisdiction of the temporall *Magistrate*, not suffering them to be liable to any *punishments*, but those eternall, & such as their own superiours shall think fit to lay upon them; seldome suitable to the fault, unlesse in case of *Schisme* from their generall Tenents: & in this their Jealousie,

no leſſe than prudence makes them very ſevere. Now having purchaſed *Eaſe*, *Honour*, and *Impunity*, ſuch as were *Poore*, *Guilty*, or *Ambitious*, beſides *Younger Brothers*, and thoſe *in Debt*, entered their *Fellöwſhip*; which freed them from preſent want, and feare of puniſhment for former Offences, how capitall ſoever: And theſe being, for the moſt part, of the beſt naturall abilities ſoon learned the ſkill, ſo to work on the conſciences of Dying people, and thoſe affrighted with their ſins, that the *Church* was left Heire of the beſt part of *Chriſtendome*. And taking encouragement from the blinde Zeale then raigning, (which till *Printing* had opened a way to Knowledge, rendred all things poſſible unto them) they did not onely make uſe of ſuch profitable *Errors*, as their fore fathers left them, but brought in new ones of their own contriving, gilding them with the ſpendid titles of *things neceſſary* & of *religious uſe*; Amongſt which were *Images*, brought in at firſt only to encourage others to imitate their conſtancy, whom they ſaw painted, with the manner of Death they had been put to by the Perſecuters of thoſe Times: Of the *Croſſe*, wore

wore anciently only for a *Cogniſance*; they have made a Tutelary *God*, looking no higher in their Extremities: The bleſſed *Saints* were ſcandalized with the Worſhip given to them, & their *Reliques*: whom, in a full imitation of the Heathen, they made *Protectors* of their *Cattell*, and ſmaller *Pleaſures*, as *Hawking*, *Hunting*, &c. And becauſe the *Bible* did not, in their opinions, afford a ſtore ſufficient for all uſes, they have added a number more, as may be found in the *Legend*.

To the *Monks*, and all ſorts of *Friars*, the *Popes* have ſucceſſively given immenſe *Priviledges* and *Indulgences*, wiſely conſidering, they gain them victories, without the Sword, & are a ſtrong & faithfull Militia, fed & paid by the reſpective *Princes* of Chriſtendome, who, though they know they depend on a Forraigne Power, yet few dared to explode them: ſo ſharp and terrible was their fear of the *Knife*, and more deeply wounding dart of *Excommunication*. And becauſe, in caſe all *Kings* ſhould have joyned, it might have gone hard with *his Holineſſe*, he kept them employed abroad at the *Holy War*, or at Enmity one with another, or at leaſt at Unity with himſelfe, by maintaining their *uſur-*

ped Titles, or diſpenſing with their *Inceſtuous* or *Adulterous Marriages*. But finding, in theſe latter dayes, Knowledge hath expoſed him to a *Reformation*, and that Princes would no longer make the vindication of his *Temporalities*, or what, under the notion of *Spirituals*, he is pleaſed to call *His*, a matter of Religion: and not daring to alter any thing formerly admitted by his Predeceſſors, for fear of falling under this undeniable Concluſion, That *he which hath erred in one thing, may in more*: He moſt politickly call'd in the *Inquiſition*, which turneth no leſs to the profit of the Secular *Prince* (who hath all he diſlikes condemned by an Authority uncapable as well of Envy as Revenge) than the Preſervation of the *Eccleſiaſticks*, and *his Holineſſe*'s power from falling under ordinary Diſpute: which Policy he borrowed of his younger Brother *Mahumet*, whoſe errors remain to this day in Credit, becauſe it is death to queſtion the Truth of them.

No man can ſay the *Pope* imitates *Peter*, except in *denying his Maſter*; who following the example of *Chriſt*, did in humility waſh his Companion's *feet*, which this doth in jeſt, during the *holy Week*, as they call it, but ſuffers his owne to be, in ear-

neſt, *kiſs'd* by *Kings* & *Emperours*. It is true, he ſtyles himſelfe the *Servant of Servants*, but is content to be worſhipped under the title of *Lord of Lords*: Nay ſome of his Flatterers have given him the name of a *God*, yet with *Paul* & *Barnabas*, he doth not rend his Cloathes, ſaying, *He is a man ſubject to infirmities, as others are*; but rather ſeekes to ſeem worthy of this Title, by proclaiming to the world, *That he cannot erre*, a power God hath wholly reſerved to himſelfe; or if communicated (which I will not now diſpute) it is onely to the *Church* in generall, when, in his feare they ſhall meet to determine matters of Religion, Which is ſo contrary to the nature of his Greatneſſe, that no ſound is ſo terrible to him, as that of a *General Council*, a thing this Age cannot hope to ſee free & intire, by reaſon of the contrary Intereſts of Princes, who, together with Religion, mingle their covetous and ambitious Pretences: For if ſuch interruptions had not been, ſo undecent a proceeding ſhould never have taken place, as was in the *Council of Trent*; where the *Emperor* ſuffered the *Pope* to be *Party* & *Judge*, & the *Biſhops* bereft of all power, either to propoſe or determin. Nor were the *Plaintiffs* admitted to more fa-

vour or liberty of Diſputation, than to remain quiet, & heare themſelves condemned; ſo as, in concluſion, though this *Synod* was deſired only to abate the power, & reform the abuſes of the *Court* of *Rome*, it was managed by them with ſo much Policy, that it did rather much ſtrengthen & confirm the exorbitant power of that See.

The greateſt things in diſpute between *Papiſt* and *Proteſtant*, are matters concerning *Profit* or *Honour*, which may ſatisfy any not delighted with blindneſſe, that they were brought in by the diligence of the *Prieſts*, taking advantage from the ignorance of preceding Ages.

From all which I may conclude, that ſuch amongſt them as are wiſe, converſant in hiſtory, & acquainted with the preſent practiſe of the Court of *Rome*, are fouly to be ſuſpected of *Atheiſme*: becauſe Conſcience can never be perſwaded againſt a convincing experience: which is alſo made good by the irreligious *Italians*, from whom comes this Proverb, *The neerer the Church, the farther from God*: For ſuch abhor Religion, becauſe they ſee the *Pope* makes but a politick robe of it, taking the liberty himſelfe to put it on or off, as becomes his occaſions.

A DISCOURSE UPON THE ELECTION OF Pope LEO the XI.

IN the *Negotiations of Cardinall Peron* may be found a perfect *Journall* of so much of the *Election* of *Leo the Eleventh*, as was possible to bee knowne by one side; to which Discours I shall refer all those that do believe the *Pope* can be the true *Successor of Peter*: It being incongruous both to Prudence & Religion, to imagine the *Holy Ghost* should mingle Interests with the ambitious ends of Princes, who shun no impious means, to make him succeed, that is thought the truest friend to their Occasions. I know it is not onely in the power, but the practise of God, to raise his ends out of ill means; Yet it were presumption in men to shape out his work, though he be able to fit our endeavours to his own Honour.

But the *Court* of *Rome* seeks to make the people

people believe, that, notwithstanding these Considerations, after the *Masse of the Holy Ghost* is said, he is as really present in the *Conclave*, as he was with the eleven Disciples, when they chose a Successor to *Judas*, who betrayed *Christ*. In which they acknowledge themselves either *Atheists*, or presumptuous *fighters against God*; For if the Choice be his, how dare they interpose their mediation, or hope the *French* or *Spanish Factions* can possibly prevail; one side ever interrupting because both cannot be pleased. They have of late been made, sometimes by the other which must conclude the Holy Spirit subservient to humane Endeavours, or no more friend to this Choice, than to that of the *Grand Seignior*.

Here you may see how they labour to hire or force the *Holy Ghost* to fix upon some such subject, as may be most auspicious to the prevalent Party; who is invoked out of Ceremony, leaving the rest to be hewed out by themselves. Before these Monarchs grew so potent, the troubles in the *Conclave* were rather more than lesse: For the *Cardinalls* made Elections so tedious by their towsing, that sometimes the *Romans*, sometimes

sometimes other Princes, forced them to resolve. And to avoid such constraint, they did often pitch upon *Impotent men*, such as for *Age* or *Weakness* were not likely to hold out long (as this *Leo*, who died in few weks after his assumption) during whose time the Pretenders are at leisure to concoct their Designes better; which is ordinarily done by *Bribes*, or in case they prevaile not, by *Poyson*, nay the Devill is not left unsought to: So as *Balzac* saith, *None, on this side the Alpes, labour more to look well, than some of them, to seem sickly and weake*; hoping by that means to obtain the *Chaire* which is able, of a gouty *Cardinall*, to make a sound *Pope*.

In antient time the *Bishops* of *Rome* were chosen by the *Parish Priests* of that City; And how, since, *Cardinals* came in, is no more known, (though not antient) thā the date of many Novelties, that have most shamefully been imposed upō the Church: Yet to this day, no *Ecclesiasticall Cardinall* (for they have others) but retains among his titles, the name of one of the *Parish Churches* in *Rome*, though he be ordinarily called by his own name, or else some other *Bishoprick* or Dignity, he hath in *Comendā*.

By

By the institutions of a former *Pope*, which for shame they dare not revoke, all his Actions that gete into the *Chaire* by *Simony*, are null: Now what are all these sinister Endeavours, but so many severall sorts of *Simony*? If *Simon Magus* had attempted by *Policy*, mediation of *Friends*, or *Flattery*, to have obtained the Gift of the *Holy Ghost*, should his fault have been lesse, or not rather greater; *Money* being the richest offer he could make, and most suitable to the *Apostles* wants, which he saw others, indued with the same Spirit, daily cast at their feet? And if this be granted, when had the Church a Head able to utter any thing but *Falshoods*, or Nullities; All *Popes* having, for many yeares, entered at one of these Gates? In Civil Kingdoms, the *Crowne* is to be obeyed without questioning how the Wearer came by it; but to tie the Ecclesiasticall power to these conditions, were to binde the *Holy Ghost* to the *Popes Chaire*.

The *Bishop* of *Rome* layes an absolute claim to an unerring Spirit; but is not able to demonstrate the time when he had it: If it were alwaies, the Errors found inherent in the persons were uncapable of blame or retraction.

retraction. Yet out of this Cloud of uncertainety, say they, the *Holy Ghost* dictates onely to his *Church*, & such as deny it are *Heretieks*. If at any time he hath the Spirit of infallibility, it is, perhaps, at his first entrance into the Chaire, as *Saul* had a greater measure upon his new anointing, than in all his Raign besides; yet in the Election of this *Leo the* XI (of the House of *Medici*, and before his Assumption known by the Title of *Cardinall of Florence*) appeares no such matter, which would not have been omitted by the penner of the passages of their *Conclave*; being an eye witnesse & a *Cardinall*, who doth pride himselfe much in his fortune, & the policy both he & the French Party had used in his advance. But it may be, *Paul the Fifth*, who succeeded this *Leo*, had it, when he made so great a present to the Devill, as at once to excommunicate the whole State of *Venice*, with all the territories belonging unto it: But this was afterwards condemned by himselfe as rash & inconsiderate, terms most unbefitting a thing done by God. And wise men may here justly take occasion to conclude, that no *Pope* doth think, or ever thought, he had a power of not erring: For

if

if such a Spirit were an usuall companion of that *See*, *Paul the Fifth* would have expected the operation of it, and not have troubled a State to so little purpose, without the assistance at least of a Revelation.

He that desires to be informed of the *Illnesse* of Modern *Popes*, may be abundantly satisfied, if he Consult Historians, who are not dumb in declaring the *faults* of the *Court of Rome*. The truth is, were it not for the *strict* (or if you will, call them *pious*) *Lives* of a few melancholick *Friars*, it is impossible so much wickednesse should not be hooted out of the world.

Yet the *Court of Rome* hath as strong Supporters as Policy is able to bring, though her truest friends are *Ignorance*, the *Inquisition*, and *Interests* of Princes: The first lies in every particular man to reform, the second for the most part in the King of *Spaine*, the third onely in God.

Politicall

Politicall Occasions
Of the
DEFECTION
From the
CHURCH OF *ROME.*

AS some *Diseases*, and other *Mulcts* (but accidentall in the first result) become, after a small *Succession*, *hereditary* to a *Family*; So *Opinions*, if once inveterate, render their Professours Ears, like those of the *Adder*, deaf to the wiser & more probable *Charmes* of Reason. I come just now from talking with a *Papist*, and find him (though a Scholar) so wrapped up in the old rags of *Tradition*, and inspired with so strong an *Implicit Faith*, that I think it had been one of the neerest things to impossible, for the *Bishop of Rome* to have lost so many, had he not fallen into such *Errors* as these.

1. The seeking to maintain a greater *shew of Piety* in the *Church*, than was suitable to humane Frailty, & the comforts of Life: The *Friars Habit* being no lesse *nasty* than

unseemly

unseemly, and therefore shunn'd by nicer Judgments & those of parts, not so capable of temptation from any thing, as Pleasure & Profit: Or if such *Austerity* was called for, in relation to externall *Zeal*, (the parade of all Religions, and fit to be mustered up often in the eyes of the people) yet the generality might have been left to more *decent Accoutrements*, by which they had become sociable unto others, & not loathsome to themselves.

2. Though such Austerity was exacted from the *Members*, the *Head*, and *capitall Clergie* observed not the like: which alarum'd not onely their Maligners, but those of their owne Coat, whose Desert or Fortune had not raised them to the same Transcendency.

3. The admittance of *Printing*, unpossible but to prove disadvantageous unto those, whose strongest evidence, for the maintenance of their Power, lay in the Ignorance & Patience of the World, which this could not but be thought probable both to informe and disturb.

4. The suffering *Nations* to swell into such *vast Bodies*, as *France*, *Spaine*, &c. The most obtained under the *Churches* pretence,

tence, which in favour to one, and malice to others, did blast Princes titles by the thunders of *Excommunication*, and set the people at odds with their Naturall Soveraigne. By which Exorbitances they taught the *Germans* and our *Henry the eight* to find out a Remedy by applying to this *proud flesh* the powder of *Reformation*; the strength of which made the same Zeal, that swell'd the *Priests* to this height, as ready to teare away the ground frō under them.

5. The mixing a desire of *temporall power* with what is purely *spirituall*, put such an allay upon their *Sanctity*, that it became lesse current, than otherwise it might have been, had they not used the *Sword*, which Peter only drew (&yet not without a check) in his *Master's* cause, to purchase *Principalities* for their Children & Nephewes.

6. The falling into the common Error of weaker Princes, who, to *palliate some extēporary mischiefe*, do oftentime contract *an incurable inconvenience*, as was done in the case of *John Husse*, & *Hierom* of *Prague*: in relation to whose proceedings the Fathers in the *Councill* of *Basil* enacted, That *No Faith was to be kept with Heretickes*. By which they have rendered themselves incompatible

compatible with any other Tenents than their own; To whom they do by this almost as much as confesse, that upon the accesse of a power sufficient, none are to expect milder conditions, than to lay their *heads* upon the *Block*, or cast their *consciences* at the *Popes* feet.

7. The *irrepealable Authority* given to the Decrees of all approved *Synods*, opposeth the *Customs of Nature*, and course of all sublunary things, whicy are *apt to change*; no lesse than true *reason of State*, that abhors to be shackled by any severer restraint than she is able to cast off upon approach of a greater advantage: The dispensing with an *unsociable Tenent* being far lesse prejudiciall, than the continuance of it against the grain of the generality.

8. The *Pope* should have removed at least so many of the *Hundred Greivances*, presented at the *Diets*, as he found all Estates cōcurred in the dislike of: The charge and trouble incident to the *Roman Religion* afflicting mens temporalities as much almost as their *Falsehood* could their Consciences: It being more Policy to part with things not absolutely necessary, willingly, than by constraint.

9. The

9. The open *partiality* shewed in the affairs of divided *Princes*: By which the one side is made perpetually his enemy, & the friendship of the other no longer permanent, than it receives benefit; being wise enough to see, that the same *Arts* and *Power* that are able to help now, may, upon the recoil of Interest, be as apt to hurt: All strength conjuring up jealousie in Kings, that is not absolutely at their own dispose.

10. The ordinary & slight Provocations the *Pope* took to draw the dagger of *Excommunication*: which acquainted *Princes* no lesse with the bluntnesse of his Weapons, than the keennesse of his Malice: By which they were taught to abate, so much as possibly they could, the reach of his power, lest it should have increased to an universall prejudice; nothing being more notorious than the *Ambition* of the *Church*, not possibly to be moderated, but by an absolute restraint, & an open discovery of the Arts used to twist the Interests of *Christ* with those purely their own: a medly of Colours apparent to judicious eyes: with which *Religion* was so dapled, that it was embraced by the most, rather out of ostentation than love, or pure zeal, and so not likely to continue long.

11. Had

11. Had he turned the edge of his *Ecclesiasticall sword* against *Turks* and *Infidels*, which he hath since *Gregory* the great chose rather to sheath in the bosome of *Christians* (whose differences, especially if they intrenched upon his *Supremacy*, be fomented into flames) he might have inlarged the extent of his own jurisdiction by a supply of new *Proselytes*, who are ever fonder of their Nurses, than those whose sharper experience of the Covetousnesse, and Ambition of the *Church* hath weaned from being so highly pleased with the *Roman Gue-gaus*. I confesse it unsuitable to his Interest, to suffer all or the major part of *Christendome* to fall under the jurisdiction of one person, for then his power would be eclipsed, as the Moon, in Opposition; or quite lost, as the Stars upon the approach of the Sun: which arraigns him of Indiscretion, for suffering the *German Empire* to be *Hereditary*: easily to have been fore-seen, when once it fell upon so powerfull a Prince as *Charles the V*, not likely to part with any thing he had once possessed, & now too strongly rooted in the *Austrian Family*, ever to be eradicated but at the cost of a totall subversion, either by the *Turke* or *Lutheran* Professors.

12. The

12. The ſeverall *Orders* and diſtinct *Names* they gave the *Friars*, known to breed *Emulation & Diviſion* among them; as is evident about the *Conception* of the *V. Mary*, &c. And the irreconcilable feud between the active *Society of Jeſus*, and all the other duller *Fraternities*.

13. *Ceremony* (though the *Body* of *Religion*, yet) is too weak to bear that Streſſe the *Prieſts* laid upon it; who ſhould rather have built upon *faith*, to which nothing is impoſſible: Conſidering withall, that though *externall behaviour* may add warmth to *zeal*, yet a redundancy of it doth not ſeldome ſuffocate & extinguiſh it, by converting it into *Idolatry*, which is a palpable miſtake in the worſhip of God, and cannot long among knowing people, be held from clamouring for a *Reformation*; which the *Pope* ſhould ever have prevented by a haſty doing it himſelfe: For if once undertaken by the unintereſted Rabble, they will never leave, till the forme of worſhip is bruiſed & beaten out of all comlineſſe, ſo as nothing can ſatisfy but the molding it anew. Which the wit of no ſingle Age, much leſſe that contained in a few Heads, is able to make com-

pleat: *Church Discipline*, well instituted, being the highest result of all Prudence, God hath intrusted men withall: whose materialls too neer scrutinized, seem to discover more Policy then Piety; by the contemplation of which mens Judgements being once dazeld, they are ever after propense to *Atheisme*, and a prejudiciall jealousie of their Teachers.

14. The *Pope* neglected the prudentiall carriage of a *Miller*, who being supplied with a larger stream than the conveniency of his Trade requires, suffers it to run wast, rather then endanger the subversion of the whole Engine, he hath liv'd so long happily by. Whereas the *Pope* permitted the *Ecclesiasticks*, not onely to appropriate to their particular profit, all that which ignorant zeal did voluntarily & plentifully shower down upon them; but connived at the Mists and Thunders they raised in the Consciences of Dying men: By which they became co-heirs almost in every Family: Forgetting that *A great Booty invites Theft*, at best Envy; it being unlikely, Princes should long forbear squeezing such Spunges, out of awfulnesse to Religion, as had no better authority for their dreining

ning their Subjects, than they drew from a forraign power; owned by the most, rather out of Policy than Piety, especially since it was ordinary with *his Holiness* himselfe to make great *Leavies* upon no other reason, than to augment his own, or raise new *Empires* for his Sons or Nephews.

15. The abundance of such contingencies bred a neglect of their surer & more legitimate Patrimony, consisting in *Tithes* & unquestioned *Churchdueties*; very sufficient to have maintained a number large enoogh for the loading the patience and conveniency of the most prudent States, without the addition of such vast *Revenues*, not possible to be apprehended but under the notion of things superfluous in the *Church*, since *Christ* in person never owned such Pleonry, which made it seem more undecent in him that pretended to be his *Vicar*.

16. *Fallacies* discovered in *Miracles*; which call in question as well those anciently & truly done, as such as are reported to be new. Thus the *pious Deceits* our Ancestors used to bring men to salvation, are not only made Stales to catch Profit, but instrumentall to Infidelity.

A DISCOURSE IN VINDICATION OF *Martin Luther*.

HE may be suspected of *Hypocrisie*, if not *Atheisme*, that too suddenly leapes out of one Opinion into another. It be[illegible] for meer flesh and blood, [illegible] at once a *Religion* rooted by [illegible] and Education in the Understanding, which must be convinced, before it can let in another with any cordiall welcome. I speak not of the antient and extraordinary Callings of God, but those experimented in our times, in which over much hast doth often-times bewray Deceit. As appeared in the Bishop of *Spalatto*, who in my dayes left *Italy* for fear of *Paul the fifth*, his enemy, and reconcil'd himselfe to the *Church of England*; but the old *Pope* being dead, and his *Kinsman* in the *Chaire*, he resumes his former Errors, and

goes to *Rome*, in hope of Preferment, where contrary to promise, he dies miserably. When Falshood is fallen out with for any other respect, than Love of Truth, it inclines to Atheisme, and is so far from mending the Condition of the Convert, that it renders it worse.

None ever shewed greater signes of Gods Spirit, than *Luther* did; who observed such *Gradations*, as it may appear he found fault with nothing, he was not first led to by the dictates of Conscience: *Falling* first upon the abuse of *Indulgences*, too apparent an Impiety, to passe by so acute a Judgement undiscovered; *From* this he ascended to higher Contemplations, which afforded him the opportunity to take notice of remoter and deeper Errors. His *Wit* & *Learning* having that vast advantage over the stupid Ignorance of those times, that he bare down all before him, without any other *Opposition*, than the contrary Faction was able to raise out of power; much weakned by the desire all *Princes* had, to set limits to the *Pope's* daily *Usurpations*. And as for the *Books*, then writ against him, they did rather shar pen, than blunt the desire of Change: For the *Friars* had so long enjoyed

joyed a free current of their Doctrine, without interruption, that they were more intent on the reaping of such Fruit, as grew from the Errors sown by their Predecessors, than upon Arguments to defend the. So as if Princes, that were weary of the Yoak of *Rome*, had wanted the guidance of *Luther*, it is not easie to say, whither they might have wandered. And though *Charls the fifth*, then *Emperour*, to keep his subjects in obedience, did seem to discountenance the *Schism* (as they call'd it) yet he was content to shut up the *Pope* in the Castle of S. *Angelo*. Which proves his small affection, and the truth of this *Tenet*, that if ever *Christendome* falls under one *Monarch*, or turns into *popular States*, the power of the *Pope* will be lost, or confined to *Rome*; being at this day onely kept up, like a Shittle-cock, by the bandying of Princes.

'Tis *objected* against *Luther*, That *he was too passionate*, using *irreverent speeches* towards some in Authority? Yet so much of this fault, as *Zeale* leaves unexcused, may be imputed to his *Education*. All can be said, is, He was but a *Man*, and subject to Common Infirmities; And because his ene-

mies

mies do so often object this, it is strongly to be presumed his worst fault. I could have wish'd he had not *married a Nun*: but I believe he did it to shew People, The Quarrell was irreconcilable, as *Absalom* projected when he polluted his Fathers bed. And in this sense, the benefit takes away much of the blame; which lay not in the *unlawfulnesse*, but the *inexpediency* of the fact. And to shew, God did not curse his *Match* (Though he might participate of the fate of other *learned men*, who seldom finde their *abilities*, represented in their *Issue*, yet) he left *three* such *Sons*, as did not give his enemies occasion to upbraid his memory with them.

For the *Reall Presence*, maintained by him in the *Sacrament*, it doth not so much condemn his *Judgement* in this, as it justifies his *Integrity* in all the rest: He being as resolute to vindicate what he thought true, against the perswasions of his Friends, as he was against the threats and promises of his Enemies: For if any by-respect could have warped him, it would have been a desire to appease the hot Dispute, the retention of this error raised in his Own Party, wholly of his judgment but in this particular,

particular, in which *Zwinglius*, and the *Helvetian* Church did oppose him. And if this be not enough to wash him clean from the imputation of Self-ends and Covetousnesse, the Proverb used in *Germany* may, That *Poore Luther made many rich.*

As he was *protected* from a number of *apparent mischiefs*, so the same had freed him from many *hidden*, in respect of the eyes of the world; it being impossible, that he, who had gall'd so many *Grandees*, should not have Revenge laid in wait for him, in every corner: Experience proving, that *Kings* themselves can scarce whisper against the *Court of Rome*, but the *Knife* is ready to give them a finall Answer. His *Death* was with as little Molestation, as his *Life* was full: For being call'd to the County of *Mansfield*, the place of his birth, to determine a Case in controversy between two *Princes* of that *Family*, he *died* there in the sixty third year of his Age.

Had the *Apostles*, nay our *Saviour* himselfe been alive, and maintained what *Luther* did, they had been persecuted by the *Clergie*: Therefore the *Crucifying of Christ* is no prodigy in Nature, but daily practis'd among men: For he that can find the heart

to

to stigmatize and whip his Brother, for an *Error meerely in Judgment*, would never have spared *Peter* or *Paul*, coming with no more visible Authority then they had. But this is not the way to suppresse an *Heresy*, since most are jealous of that opinion, which useth the *Sword* for her *Defence*: *Truth* having been long since determined to be *most strong*: And where Oppression is, there for the most part, she is supposed to be. This shews as little Discretion as Charity in such as *persecute* those, that may be in the Right; or, if not, shall by this means, be kept the longer in the Wrong. If a Horse starts, the more he is beaten, the harder he is kept in the way; but let him stand, & have leisure to consider what he blanched at, & he will perceive it is a Block, & so go on. Yet it is neither cruelty nor imprudēce, to restrain such furious Spirits (as they do Dogs) that will bawl & fly at all they do not know. But I should be utterly against *burning their Books in publick*, if they have once gained the light, which onely adds to their price, & saves them a labour; because, if the State did not put them to credit, by their notice, they would perhaps, after a while

for

for shame, burn them themselves. The *whip* reforms not so much as he that endures it; but is taken as a triumph by the Faction, increasing their animosity, if not their number; So that in effect it proves a punishment to none but the honest and tender-hearted of the people, who cannot choose but be scandalized, to see the Image of God defaced, by *cutting Ears*, and *slitting Noses*, &c. And this raiseth a strong suspition, that the Hand of Justice would not lie so heavy onely on the precise side, but that something inclines it that may at last turne to the subversion of the most moderate part.

The *Dutch*, though they *tolerate all Religions* & Tenents, yet none increased to their prejudice, till they strove to suppresse the *Arminians*, who are in taste as like the *Papists*, as Scallions are to Onions; all the difference is, that the latter is the stronger: Yet since they have let them alone, this Opinion is observed to be lesse numerously attended.

Had the *Pope* seasonably reformed the Error *Luther* discovered so apparently, in the publication of *Indulgences*, and rewarded him a *Bishoprick*, for his *Learning*,

ning and *Zeale*, let him afterwards have said what he pleased: it would have been looked upon by the people as of no credit: who like nothing so well, as what goeth crosse to the grain of Authority.

The Lord *Treasurer Cecil*, having been unsufferably abused by *Libels*, sent for the *Poet*, and, after he had ratled him soundly, began to take notice of the poor fellowes good parts, saying, „*It might be, vexatious poverty compelled him to make use of false, though common Rumours, given out by such as hated all in Authority*; To ease which he gave him 20 pieces, promising to take the first opportunity to advance him. This favour (most contrary to his expectation, who would willingly have given one ear to have saved the other) did so worke with him, and the rest of the *Pasquillers* of the time, that, till the *Treasurers* death, none used the like Invectives. *Bancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, used the like demeanour towards some Gentlemen that had laid the imputation of *Sodomy* to his Charge, &c.

Clemency seldome causeth repentance in an established Kingdome, or if it proves a fault, it is easily mended; Whereas *Cru-*

elty

they can never be recalled, raising a far greater Party out of a thirst of Revenge, than ever yet could be mustred up from the hope of *Impunity*.

Therefore to conclude, since *Luther* alone had the power to do so much, let us not be thus severe against others, that having their zeal kindled (though perhaps at the wrong end) run madding through the world, but rather pity them, if they be in an errour. Because they something resemble the first Messengers of Truth.

FINIS.